GREGORII POSTHUMA:

OR,

CERTAIN LEARNED

TRACTS

WRITTEN

By JOHN GREGORY, M.A.

and Chaplain of *Christs-Church* in *Oxon.*

Together with a Short Account of the

AUTHOR'S LIFE,

AND

ELEGIES on his much-lamented DEATH.

PUBLISHED BY

His Dearest Friend J. G. *B.D. of* Merton College.

LONDON,

Printed by *Andrew Clark*, for *Thomas Williams*, and are to be sold at the *Golden Ball* in *Hosier-lane*.

MDCLXXI.

TO
My highly-Honoured Friend
FOR
VIRTUE and LEARNING,
ED. BYSH, Esq.

SIR,

NOt to Dedicate This to Your Name and Patronage, were to commit a double Treſpaſs: One againſt the Will and Purpoſe of the Dead, (if that may be called a Treſpaſs in this profane Age:) Another againſt my own Obligations to Your ſingular Worth, which hath ſo highly engaged both the Author and my Self, as that for me to think of any other Patron than Your Noble Self, were both Ingratitude and Impiety. But the greateſt Examples this Age can give me, ſhall never prevail with me to be guilty of either.

Wherefore to You (who durſt be Charitable at ſuch a time as that, and ſo Ingenuous as to appear a Lover of Learning in this Age) to You (I ſay)

do I present these Posthumes *of your Learned and now much lamented Client; a man so entirely affected to Learning, as that the very fore-sight of this Barbarity (wherein Learning and Learned Men were to be the Objects of Scorn and Cruelty) broke his heart.*

Time was (even among the Heathen) that Learning was a sufficient Protection against Tyranny; witness Antonius Triumvir, *who, when* Varro *(his Enemy, and of a contrary Faction) was listed for Death, he thus gallantly superscribed his Name,* —Vivat Varro Vir doctissimus.

But I forbear: And having now (Sir) too long perhaps insisted on the Cause of my Sorrows and this Dedication, I heartily recommend you to the Grace of Him who is able to uphold you in these evil Days, and to enable you (ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενον στῆναι) *to stand in this slippery Age.*

Your Worships

humbly Devoted,

John Gurgany.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHORS Life and Death.

THE Desire of Being is not Ambition, but a generous Appetite and relish of Immortality, which Nature her self prompts the Creature to: πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις is an Apostolical Testimony, that the whole Creation aims not onely at a Being, but an Eternity of Well-being also. I cannot wonder therefore at the *Egyptians* Industry, to preserve their Memory and Figures to Posterity. Nor at *Absalom's* Pillar, he having no Heir to perpetuate his Name; which, if good, is rather to be chosen than great Riches: These may perish with the Wicked, but the *Memory of the Just shall be blessed*. 2 Sam. 18. 8.

Who

Who then can distrust or oppose this Happiness of good Men, so long since assured by him which is ὁ ὤν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the Eternal God, Blessed for ever? Surely none, without the guilt of Theomachie or Ingratitude. Upon this Consideration the wise Son of *Sirach*, that Eloquent Encomiast, raised his Monumental Pillar to the Patriarchs; hence, doubtless, he took his rise to that lofty Panegyrick of the Primitive Saints, *Laudemus Viros glorioſos, &c.* Let us now praise famous Men, *&c.*

Eccles 44. 1.

And in imitation of him, I might say much in commendation of this Author, whose Worth (as well natural as acquisite) was the Miracle of his Age. But my Account shall be brief and plain, as most suitable to the sadness of my Thoughts on this Subject, leaving all Flourish and Fancie to the Gallantry of Poetry, from whose sweet strains I shall not long detain you.

Camb. Brit. *Amersham* in the County of *Buckingham*, ennobled hitherto onely by the Honourable Family of the *Russels*, may now boast as much in the Birth of this Authour, which hapned on the tenth of *November*, 1607.

And

And though his Parents were but of mean Extraction and Eſtate,

Ingenua de Plebe virum, nec cenſus in illo
Nobilitate ſua major, ſed vita fideſq;
Inculpata fuit, &c. Ovid. Met. lib. 2.

yet of ſuch noted Piety and Honeſty, as gained them love and reſpect from the Beſt of that Place: Whence this their eldeſt Son, about the fifteenth year of their pious Education of him, was choſen by my worthy Friend Dr. *Crook*, to wait upon Sir *William Drake*, and ſoon after on Sir *Robert Crook*, at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where they had the happineſs to be under the Tuition of the moſt Ingenuous and Learned Dr. *George Morley*, whoſe Directions and Encouragements to Study were ſo exact and impreſſive, as that they ſoon eaſed him of farther trouble with this Author.

The Account of this his young Scholar's Studies being above the Leiſure of a Tutor to receive, (eſpecially one ſo greatly and publickly engaged.) For beſides mine own Obſervation of him (enjoying him no ſmall time in my Chamber in *Chriſts-Church*) he confeſt unto me, That for divers years he ſtudied

ſtudied 16 of every 24 Hours, and that with ſo much appetite and delight, as that he needed not the Cure of *Ariſtotle*'s drowſineſs to awake him, or my Obſervation of his indefatigable Induſtry, which Magnetically drew my Affections toward him; my Love being as great to Learning, as my Nature unapt and impatient of extraordinary Labors. Hence I loved him unto a Filial Adoption, and confirmed it after by an Academical Exerciſe for our firſt Degrees, wherein his Worth, like the Riſing of the Sun, began to diſcover it ſelf, darting forth ſuch fair Hopes and Glimmerings of future Perfection, as were quickly eſpied by the then vigilant Dean of *Chriſts-Church* Dr. *Duppa*, ſince Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, who immediately received him into favour, and ſoon after made him Chaplain of *Chriſts-Church*, and after that his own Domeſtick, and Prebendary of *Chicheſter* and *Sarum*.

Ænea pila, Diog. Laert. & Lud. Viv. de Cor. Art.

For which Favors he now began (about 26 years old) at once to publiſh to the World his Worth and Gratitude, in the Dedication of his Notes on Learned *Ridley*'s Civil Law to his and my Honoured Patron, the Biſhop

of

of *Sarum*. In which Notes he made an early discovery of his Civil, Historical, Ecclesiastical, Ritual, and Oriental Learning, together with the *Saxon*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and all Eastern Languages, through which he miraculously travelled without any Guide, except Mr. *Dod* the Decalogist; whose Society, and Directions for the *Hebrew* Tongue, he enjoyed one Vacation near *Banbury*: For which Courtesie he ever gratefully remembred him, as a Man of great Piety, Learning, Gravity, and Modesty; of which Graces also this Author was as great a Possessor as Admirer.

Hence those many Tracts, both in *English* and *Latin*, were bashfully laid by in his Youth, as Abortives; some whereof I have here published, and entituled *Posthuma*, as so many Testimonies and Monuments of his General Learning.

For which he was much honoured by the Acquaintance and Favour of Men of the greatest honour and eminence in Learning that this Age hath produced; besides the Correspondence (in Points of Learning) which he held with divers famous Men abroad,

Archbishop *Laud*, B. *Mountague*, B. *Lindsey*, M. *John Selden*, *&c.*

abroad, as well *Jeſuites* and *Jews*, as others.

And now being like the Sun in his Zenith, ready to ſhine in his greateſt luſtre, Behold, the whole Kingdom began to be clouded with Judgments,

Ovid Met. lib. 1. (*Sic Deus inducta noſtras caligine terras*
Occuluit———)

like that *Egyptian* Darkneſs, which even then began to damp, and hath ſince quite extinguiſh'd the greateſt and pureſt Lights of this Nation, ſuch as were not to be parallell'd by any other for Piety and Learning. Among whom, notwithſtanding, the Hope of a clear Day preſerved this Learned Author a while ſufficiently ſpirited for Study, whereby he compoſed and publiſhed (a little before his Death) thoſe his Excellent Notes upon ſome Paſſages of Scripture, in which kind of holy Study he intended to ſpend the reſt of his Life.

But behold, after 20 Years trouble with an Hereditary Gout, improved by immoderate Study, and now invading his Stomach, *Atropos* ſtands ready to cut his Thread of Life, being laboriouſly ſpun out but 39 Years;

Years; when, foreſeeing the Glory was now departing from our *Iſrael*, his Spirits began to fail in an extraordinary manner.

For Recovery and Supportation whereof (his firſt Noble Patron, the Biſhop of *Sarum*, being diſabled by Sequeſtration, *&c.*) the liberal Hand of a ſecond *Mecœnas* was preſently extended; which though it could not ſave him (as *Chriſt*'s did S *Peter*) from periſhing in theſe Waters of Affliction, yet 'twas not in vain: for, as our Saviour ſaid of that Unguent, ſo may I of his laſt Patron's Charity, *Was it not to bury him?* yes, and to raiſe him too with the Trump of Fame, being very active and free toward the Publication, not only of this Poſthumous Off-ſpring, but alſo of ſome other of greater Expectation. Matt. 26. 12.

And here, *Reader*, I cannot but drop a Tear for the loſs of that his excellent Piece, entituled by himſelf *Alkibla*. *Jo. Antioch. Hiſt.* tranſlated out of *Grek* into *Latin*, with Annotations.

In which Tract, with very great Judgment and Learning, he vindicated the Antiquity of Eaſtward Adoration, (eſpecially in all Churches) as far beyond an Altar or a Crucifix (the *Romiſh* Bounds) as the Flood

precedes in time these Superstitious Distinctions of the Christian.

Which gallant Refutation of that Popish Error I the rather mention, because some suspected him a Favorer of that Way: but, to my certain knowledge, their Jealousie was unjust and groundless; he having often declared and protested, not only to me, but also to many of his familiar Friends, his Abhorrence of Popery, and his sincere Affection and Constancy to the Protestant Religion, as it was established in *England* by Acts of Parliament.

At *Kidlington*, *Mar.* 13. 1646. and was buried in *Christ's-Church* in *Oxford.*

And as he lived, so he died also, a most Obedient and Affectionate Son to his Distressed Mother the Church of *England*; for whose Sufferings he sorrowed unto Death; a more painful and exquisite Martyrdom than that by Fire or Sword: By These the Soul breaks prison in a Minute to an Eternity of Liberty and Felicity; That keeps us on the Rack of Death, not only to the Apostles καθ' ἡμέραν, but even πᾶσαν ὥραν, we die hourly.

1 Cor. 15. 31.

This Account would have run into a Volume, should I have given you a Particular

lar of his Vertues; as, his Courteſie, Humility, *&c.* not diſdaining the meaneſt Scholar, nor proud of his victorious Diſcourſes with the beſt Learned. And how free and liberal he was of his Treaſury, to the full ſatisfaction of all Inquiſitors, I may confidently appeal to all that knew him.

But I muſt not ſo remember my loſt Friend, as to forget my ſelf in my Promiſe of brevity; nay, I will rather chuſe to be ſomewhat indebted in this kind to the Dead; well knowing, the Mourners following will completely diſcharge thoſe Arrears: To whom I now therefore haſtily refer you.

Upon

Upon the DEATH of my Deareſt Friend the AUTHOR.

WOuld you the Cauſe why this my Son did die?
'Twas to prevent my Immortality.
As Twins, inform'd by one Soul, part being dead,
The ſad ſurviver lives half-murthered:
So I in my Retirements being fixt
On Him, in Me both Life and Death are mixt.
*Nor craves our * Motto leſs; though God denies*
To match our Wiſhes with our Deſtinies.
What then remains, but that I often look
Upon thee, and enjoy thee in thy Book?
Whoſe Learned Matchleſs Lines ſhall ſtill bring forth
Thy Lovers, as Eternal as thy Worth.
Who, when we are in Bliſs, will ſigh, complain,
And curſe the Age ſuffer'd thee to be ſlain:
Slain by an Ichabod; *and many more:*
Whom though this hate, the next Age will adore.
Whoſe Aſhes ſhall revive, if any be
Fit Subjects for Celeſtial Chymiſtry.
Thus Shine ye Glories of your Age, whilſt We
Wait to fill up your Martyrology.
And envy not this our Ambition: though
You wounded were to Death, We have Scars too;
And from thoſe Darts: but with this diff'rence; You
Let them ſtick faſt, which we with ſcorn withdrew.
Thus different Glories in one Sphere may be
Equal in Height, though not in Dignity:
Whilſt, like that Manna paſt, or that in ſtore,
The Leaſt was fill'd; nor is the Greateſt more.

J. G. B D.

* Μία ψυχὴ, μία πύχη.

1 Sam. 4. 22.

Oxonienſes. Maſters, Cartwright, Digges, &c.

An

AN

ELEGY on the Learned AUTHOR.

THough yon' cloſe Anchorite's contracted Shrowd
Made his innarrowed Carcaſs ſeem a Crowd;
Yet the Cag'd Votary did wider dwell
Than thou in thy large Roof and ſpreading Cell.
Both liv'd alike immur'd: but Manſions ſpace
To him was Emptineſs, to thee was Place.
Which the Retirements different Ends decide:
Thine was, to Toil and Sweat; but His, to Hide.
Who, though ſat down contented with the ſtore
Thou brought'ſt from Nature, coveting no more;
Yet, like a Wealthy Heir, by that Advance
Thou hadſt liv'd high on thy Inheritance.
Who e're is born to an Eſtate to's hand,
Is full as Rich as he that buys his Land.
And ſuch wert Thou: but, leſt free Nature's Gift
Seem miſ-beſtow'd, unleſs improv'd by Thrift;
'Twas thy ſtrong care to melt down Native Parts,
And ſhape up great Endowments into Arts.
Hence ſprung Thy vigorous Pains, unwearied Sweats;
Whilſt each paſt Toil edge to freſh Toil begets:
Till thy torn Nerves, ſtretch't in their Search before,
Grow ſuppler by't, and ſo put on for more.
And thy Bent Thought o're his deep Object cracks:
Nor Torture brings, but Patience from thy Racks.
Oft did the Sun owe Thee his Morning Streams,
And at thy Earlier Taper light his Beams:
When, now declining in his Weſt, and gon,
Thou bad'ſt him ſleep, for thou wouldſt Journey on:
When Midnight Silence did thy Motions ſee
As Night were made for all the World but Thee.
Nor did thy watchful Temples harbour Reſt,
Till thy great Monſter-Scruples fell ſuppreſt.
Alcides *ſcorn'd to deem his Labor ſped,*
Whilſt Hydra *wore or threatning Tail, or Head.*

No

No empty, Surface-Learning could ſuffice,
No Light, no Floating Notions bound thy Eyes:
But down thy Plummet dives to th' deepeſt Sound,
Still mining through, till it had preſt the Ground.
Art hath her Quick-ſands, which no Hold endure;
He ſtrikes the Bottom that will Anchor ſure.
While dull We find the Found, the ſame Mark hit,
The ſhackled Circumſcription of Our Wit:
Thy unconfin'd Enquiry bids at more,
Launches in Deeps ne're Fathomed before;
Ploughs the rough Deſarts up, ſcorns Old Abode,
Or proſtitute Directions of a Rode.
Yet thy nice Pilgrimage doth never ſtray,
But turns the crooked Maze to Beaten Way.
So through wild Seas th' adventurous Keel is hurl'd,
Not to loſe this, but find the other World.
Thy vigorous Brain relieves from lazie Ruſt,
Diſguis'd in Characters, but more in Duſt,
Gray Cuſtoms, which our dead diſmettled Sloth
Gave up, to ſurfeit the undaring Moth.
Craz'd Giants thus diſtreſſed Damſels hold,
Not by their Strength, but 'cauſe their Champion's cold.
Euclide *and* Ptolemy *were ſo thine own,*
As the fair Building's is the Corner-ſtone;
Whoſe beauteous Pile doth by the Baſis climb:
Yet this precedes in Worth, though that in Time.
Aſtrology ſo obey'd thy Learned Eye,
As all the Wheels and Clock-work of the Skie
By curious Nature were aſunder ta'ne,
To guide thy Art, and then ſet up again.
And when her Motions jar, her ſtaggering Team
May fix afreſh by thy King Henry's *Scheme.*
The Sacred Hebrew *thy Judicious Rage*
Purſu'd, to find its Myſtick Parentage,
With keen and eager, yet with ſated Flight;
Not to Ride-over, but O're-take the Light.
Rude Rabbins like rude Herbaliſts go to't:
They mar the Plant by digging for the Root.

Thy

Thy Numerous Language could have circuit run
T' Interpret Countreys to the Travelling Sun;
Diſcours'd his Riſing to the Weſtern Seas,
And phras'd his Buſineſs with th' Antipodes.
Yet this Bright Stock thy Bounty did afford
As thy Diſburſment ſtill, but not thy Hoard:
Not to amuſe the Needy, but ſupply:
'Twas thy Dominion, not thy Tyranny.
Hence, when I aſkt thy Torch to light my Way,
And gain'd ſome Twilights from thy Gliſtering Day;
Thy Liberal Art the Labyrinth did undo,
With the ſame Cheer as I had been thy Clew.
Thy Candid Guidance back the Compaſs brought,
And call'd Me Tutor ſtill, for being Taught.
Now theſe Loud Parts, like a ſhrill-thundering Peal,
Which is the Belfrey's Pride, but not its Weal,
Rent thy frail Tenement, and made us ſee
Thy Muſicks Excellence and Cruelty.
An envious Gout, the Leiger of thy Feet,
To awe thine Induſtry, lay arm'd to meet
Thy wakeful Midnight-Watch, and brought Thee back,
For each Raw Learned Night, a Fortnights Rack.
And when the ſingle Threats of one Diſeaſe
Bark at thy Vigilant Moons, but not diſpleaſe;
When Cuſtomary Anguiſh now ſat by,
Like thy Companion, not thy Malady;
Th' enraged Miſchief made her Party ſtrong,
Swell'd her vext Unity into a Throng;
Charming Confederates their mixt Powers to reach,
To ſtorm the Fort, for She had made the Breach.
Till the Freſh Hoſt poſſeſt of every Part,
Whilſt Gouts ſecure thy Joynts, the Reſt thy Heart,
Thy over-number'd Corps at laſt did fall,
No one ſick Patient, but an Hoſpital.

M. LL.

Upon

Upon the DEATH of my Loving Friend,

Mr. JOHN GREGORY.

SUre it muſt needs be ſo: ——or elſe I ſhou'd
Think Providence but little underſtood
The State of Things; when a dull ſenſleſs Tree
Stands, and out-lives a Jewiſh Pedigree:
But Man, whoſe Knowledge might new Worlds create,
And ſo compoſe a Wiſer Book of Fate,
Him the leaſt Breath muſt ſcatter into Air,
As if his Duſt not yet compacted were.
For I don't ſpeak of one whoſe Deſtiny
Was but to make a Sermon, and ſo die;
Such as the Law deliver in a Cloud
Thicker than God at firſt did, and as lowd;
Such as blaſpheme by Preaching, ne're have done,
Untill their Comments make an Alcoran;
Who ſcare the Turk from being Chriſtian,
And Indians fear they then ſhould put off Man.
He ſearcht Religions Source, Goſpel and Law,
From Moſes *in the Flags, to* Chriſt *in Straw;*
And was ſo skill'd in theſe Antiquities,
That he could almoſt tell where Moſes *lies;*
Who was * Melchiſedeck's *Father; reſtiſie*
A Few ev'n in's own Genealogy.
Who ſays he died too ſoon, that had liv'd o're
All Ages whatſoever were before;
And knew ſo much of Language, that alone
He might have ſav'd all Nations in their own
Idiome and Dialect, though there never fell
A Cloven Tongue, or other Miracle?
Great Citizen of the World! though thou die'dſt here
Yet thus we prove thou wert born every where.
And, like the Sun too, didſt thou never ſleep;
But when we call'd it Night, thou ſtill didſt keep

* 'Tis the opinion of a Learned man, that Melchiſedeck was not called ἀπάτωρ ϗ ἀμήτωρ becauſe he had no Father and Mother, but becauſe it was not known who his Father and Mother were.

Thy Journey on; till with as large an Eye,
Thou viewd'ſt the Univerſe as much as he.
But thou couldſt not endure (alas!) to run
O're the ſame Circle ſtill; ſo having done
Surveying this our Globe, thou went'ſt to ſee
* *What other Worlds did do, as well as we.*
Thus art thou fled, and left us here to be
Sad Ruines of an Univerſity.
What Ignorant Malice could not reach unto,
Nor War it ſelf, thy ſingle Fate did do.
The World began at Noon; but thy bright Ray
(More glorious Sun!) did ſet at thy Mid-day.
Now we don't mourn our State, for at thy Fall
'Tis fit this Kingdom periſh, World and all.
Our heap of Stones at Chriſt-Church *proves to be*
But a more ſpacious Monument to thee.
And when we, purifi'd from this Age, ſhall name
And dedicate a Temple to thy Fame,
We'l call this Iſland thine, which is no leſs
Famous for Thee than its Unhappineſs.
When Cities, Temples burnt ſhall be forgot,
And Sacrilege too; the Praiſe of Thee ſhall not.
Parents ſhall hither bring their Sons of Years,
To pay their Tribute in a Sea of Tears;
And pointing to thy Tomb, cry, There are found
Oxford *and* Gregory *in one Yard of Ground.*

* Galileans probably conjectured all the Planets were inhabited Worlds.

FR. PALMER.

TO

The Memory of my Dear Friend and Tutor,

Mr. JOHN GREGORY.

I'Le not accuſe thy Fall; that well-plac'd Fate
Made thee th' Deſire of th' Age, no more the Hate.
'Tis juſt it wants what it contemns: that They
Wander unpitied, who deſpiſe the Way.
Fools their own Sentence ſtill and Judgment are:
They beg their Ill, and ſuffer that falſe Pray'r.
Nor will we pity Thee; ſince what thy Mind
In its Reſtraint and Priſon could not find,
Preſs'd with its Body and the Time, it now,
Free'd from th' ungrateful Loads, does clearly know.
Truth's thy Poſſeſſion; and whate're begun
Of Knowledge here, ends now in Viſion.
Errour and Wonder ceaſe; and that Pure Fire,
Which when it cover'd lay and ſhaded here,
Thou couldſt not fully by its Languiſhing
Faint Ray diſcover the True Face of Things,
(As Colours are not judg'd i'th Twilight, where
Wants Darkneſs to be hid, and Light t' appear)
Shines out unclouded now, and does enjoy
All its High Eſſence dares, a Bright, Full Day
Of Knowledge; where Pure, Unmix'd Light does ſtream;
No falſe Refraction, nor Errours in the Beam.
No Doubtful Colour (that Veil of Shade and Light)
Diſguiſes Things; no Diſtance breaks the ſight.
But that Unbounded Glory, *that Certain Light,*
Commands all Objects; Sure and Infinite.
Let it not wrong thy Memory, that we,
Admiring what thou Now art, do paſs by
Thy Knowledge Here, as if 'twere wanting: no;
What Man could find, Thou need'ſt not Die to know.

Language

Language was thine, and what that Language frames;
Thou wert not seen onely in Empty Names.
Those the Materials of thy Knowledge were,
But not the Work: Thou onely entred'st there
Where Others rest; and loaden with their rich Prey,
Thou brought'st home thence Arts numerous as They.
'Twere idle to recount them: by thine own
Remains *th' hast left us they are greater known,*
Than by our faint Report. 'Tis they must raise
Trophies that will out-live all Lesser Praise.
For to the same Duration Sacred be
The Aged Relique, and the Memory.

R. GOODRIDGE.

Upon the much-deplored DECEASE of

Mr. JOHN GREGORY,

CHAPLAIN of CHRIST-CHURCH.

HEnce Exclamations on Disastrous Fate,
Let none here call the Stars unfortunate,
Or rail at Lachesis: *The Soul that's gone*
Scorns such a whining Celebration;
And dares that Author, whosoe're he be,
To search into the Stars so far as he.

Since Life was lent him till he had a view
Of all the Mysteries that Nature knew,
And had a perfect Knowledge of each Art
That either Rome *or* Athens *could impart;*
'Twas time (now Learning's banish'd) to suspend
His Labour, and to get to's Journey's end.

Should this so sad Intelligence be sent,
The Hebrews *and* Chaldeans *would lament:*

The

Epitaphium *Joannis Gregorii.*

The Syrians *and* Arabians *(though ſo far)*
Would ſend, to know this, an Ambaſſador.
But vain and fruitleſs would their Labour be,
When none could give an Anſwer to't but He.

He, ſo admir'd of all, that had alone
Diverſity of Tongues for's Portion;
So fluent, ſo redundant in them all,
That each which he had got ſeem'd Natural.

The Pious Fates gave him a lingring Death,
Fearing all Arts might periſh in one Breath:
But fearing too, that, if he ſhould live long,
All Nations would again become one Tongue,
They added this Confuſion to the World,
And thus together too his Aſhes hurl'd.

Aſcend, Departed Saint, to be a Gueſt
To Dialogue with Abram *and the reſt.*
Thou hadſt moſt Tongues; but know thy Joy's Exceſs
Is far more now than Angels can expreſs.

Epitaphium *Joannis Gregorii.*

NE premas Cineres hoſce, Viator,
Neſcis quot ſub hoc jacent Lapillo;
Græculus, Hebræus, Syrus,
Et qui Te quovis vincet Idiomate.
At né moleſtus ſis,
Auſculta, & cauſam auribus tuis imbibe:
Templo excluſus
Et avitâ Religione
Jam ſeneſcente, (nè dicam ſublatâ)
Mutavit Chorum, altiorem ut capeſceret.
Vade nunc, ſi libet, & imitare.

R. W.

The

THE

PARTICULAR TITLES

OF THIS

BOOK.

I. A *Discourse of the* LXX Interpreters; *the Place and Manner of their* Interpretation.

II. *A Discourse declaring what Time the* Nicene Creed *began to be Sung in the Church.*

III. *A Sermon upon the* Resurrection, *from* 1 Cor. 15. *ver.* 20.

IV. Καινὰν δεύτερον, *or, A Disproof of Him, in the* 3 *of S.* Luke, *ver.* 36.

V. Episcopus Puerorum in Die Innocentium.

VI. De Æris & Epochis; *shewing the Several Accounts of Time among all Nation, from the Creation to the Present Age.*

VII. *The* Assyrian Monarchy, *being a Description of its Rise and Fall.*

VIII. *The Description and Use of the* Terrestrial Globe.

A DIS-

A DISCOURSE OF THE LXX. INTERPRETERS; THE PLACE, and MANNER OF THEIR INTERPRETATION.

Justin Martyr saith, That the *Translation* was performed, not in the City of *Alexandria*, ἀλλ' ἐν Φάρῳ τῇ νήσῳ· The Description whereof, let it be given according to *Philo Judæus*:

Νῆσός ἐστι Φάρος πρόκειται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἣν μικρὸν ὑπολαιτὸς πέπλωκεν ἡ πόλιν, ἀπεκλυζόμενος ὑκ ἀγχιβαθοῦς, τὸ πολλὰ πεναγὰς θαλάττης, ὡς ἂν τῆς ἔξω κυμάτων φορᾶς τὸ πολὺν ἔχειν ἐν πάταγον ἐκ πόντου μακρᾶς διαστάσεως· τοῦτον ἐξ ἁπάντων ἔξω ἐν κύκλῳ κείμενος ὑπτιώτατον εἶναι τόπον, ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ ἐπιρρεμῆσαι. καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μόνας ὁμιλῆσαι τὰς νόμους, ἐπιλαθοῖ κατίμησαν, καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους λαζύλες ἀπαλείνειν ἅμ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς χῶρας εἰς ὑρκῶν, αἰτέμενοι τὸ Θεὸν, μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς προθέσεως, &c. that is, *The Isle* Pharos *lieth under* Alexandria, *stretching it self toward the City, wash'd about not with a deep, but for the most part a shallow Sea; which considered with the largeness,* Φίλων Ἰουδ. περὶ βίου Μωσέως, Λογ. β'. P. 448.

doth very much abate from the ſtreporous noiſe and turbulency of the Waves. This (Iſle) of all other Places thereabout, being judged the moſt convenient for privacy and quietneſs, and where the Law might be beſt attended by every man in his moſt retired meditations; here the Seniors remained, and taking the Holy Bible into their Hands, they lifted both it and them up into Heaven, beſeeching Almighty God not to fail them in their purpoſe, &c. So *Philo.*

Ariſtæus ſpeaketh more diſtinctly for the Place; Μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ὁ Δημήτριος παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς, καὶ διελθὼν τὸ ἧμισυ ἑπταστάδιον ἀνάχωμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὸν νῆσον, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν χάρακα, καὶ προσπλθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη, συνέδριον ποιησάμενος εἰς κατασκευασμένον οἶκον παρὰ τὸν ἡϊόνα διαφερόντως ἔχοντα καὶ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἔφεδρον, &c. that is, *Three days being paſſed,* Demetrius *took (the Seniors) along with him, and having gotten over the* Heptaſtadium *and the Bridge, he brought them to the North parts of the Iſle, where he placed the Aſſembly in a Houſe fitted for them, ſtanding upon the Shore, free from all inquietude, and having all the conveniences of ſituation,* &c. And it ſeemeth to me, that by theſe words of *Ariſtæus* ſomething more may be diſcovered concerning the Place; for the probability from hence is good, that the Houſe here ſpoken of ſhould be meant of that famous Tower which *Soſtratus* of *Cnidus* ſet up in this Iſle *Pharos* to direct the Mariners in the dangerous Seas about *Alexandria:* And the ſituation very well agreeth, becauſe the Tower alſo ſtood North, and upon the Sea-ſide. And the *Nubian* Geographer, where he deſcribeth this Tower, telleth us, وفي حرف هذا البنا ديوان that there were certain Cells erected in it. But *Juſtin Martyr* putteth us out of doubt; for he ſaith, That the Place where the Cells were ſet up was * ἔνθα τὸν Φάρον ἐκοδομῆσθαι συμβαίνει, *ubi Phari ſpeculum ædificari contigit*; which is all one with that we believed.

* Λογ. Παρ. αιρεῖ. πρὸς Ἕλλην. p. 17.

And we have cauſe to think, that ſeeing the King intended this matter of the Tranſlation with ſo much Princely care and Providence, that he would make choice of ſuch a Seat as might moſt eminently adorn his purpoſe; and there-

therefore it was answerably done to chuse the Tower, which was every way worthy of this glorious Employment: for the *Arabick* Geographer saith, الذي ليست على وجه الارض مثلها بنيانا ولا اوثق *That the whole World cannot shew such another Building as this Tower, whether we consider it for the Materials, or for the manner of the Structure.* The Reader may see a large Description of it in this Author, in the third Part of the third Clime.

But seeing the thing was done in *Egypt*, let the Story of it also be delivered in their Language, and set down in Hieroglyphicks.

And did it not well become the Business, that the Scripture should be translated in this place? *In a Tower*; to note out to the Interpreters the Sublimity of those things which they had now in hand; that when they went up to their Work, every step they ascended might elevate their Minds one degree nearer to the Contemplations of Heaven. And how fitly was it done *by the Sea-side*, that but a little of Earth might be seen to those who had now to deal with such things as had nothing in them that was Terrene? But most of all convenient it was, that it should be done *in this Tower*: For that which hung out a Candle to the doubtful Mariner in the perilous Seas, did it not well that it should also hold out *a light to the Gentiles?* The Coast of *Alexandria* was dangerous for any, least of all for the Natives, because they were acquainted with the Passages; but a Stranger durst not venture without some directions from this Beacon. Such was our way to Heaven; intricate enough to all Nations, yet more obvious to the *Jew*, because to him *were committed the Oracles of God*: But we the *Gentiles*, having no other direction but the light of Nature, could not so well tell how to pass the Streights to Heaven, without some help from the *Word*; which, though it were always a Light, yet was it never held out unto us till this time of the Translation: and therefore was it very singularly congruous, that from this Place, from whence the Sea-faring men

took their notice by a Light, to eſcape the hazard of thoſe ways they knew not, that it ſhould pleaſe God alſo, by the *Lantern of his Word*, to give aim to *the people that ſate in darkneſs*.

Muſæus in Ἡρῳ, &c.

——σὺ δ' εἰπὸτε καὶθι πρήσεις,
Δίζεο μὴν πρὸς πόρον——

Therefore whenever thou ſhalt chance to go that way, enquire out for Pharos. Any remainder of this *Tower* would be worth the ſeeing; and *Juſtin Martyr*, though there were but a Stone left upon a Stone, yet he went purpoſely to take notice of it.

Why the King ſhould make choice of the Iſle for the Interpretation, rather than the City, one Reaſon was, to avoid the diſturbance of the Multitude: for *Alexandria* was πόλις πολυάνθρωπος, *A City full of Inhabitants*, as it is obſerved by the Scholiaſt upon *Dionyſius Afer*. And in times paſt, even before it was *Alexandria*, it had been very much frequented with a confluence of People; for ſo it is noted unto us by the Prophet *Nachum*, where he would know of *Nineveh*, whether ſhe thought her ſelf better than Populous *No*, that is, ſaith *Chimki*, אלכם אלכסנדריא של מצרים *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, as it is alſo interpreted by that Ancient *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, which was performed by the Son of *Uziel* ſeventeen hundred years paſt.

חא את טבא מאלכסנדריא רבתא
Art thou better than the great Alexandria, &c. Targum in Nac.

Another Reaſon was for the ſafety of the Tranſlators, and this is given by *Philo*; ἐπιβᾶσιν τὸ καθαρώτατον τῆς χώρας ἢ πᾶσαν χωρίον ἔξω πόλεως· πᾶν γὰρ ἐπίδηλος τύχοις ἂν τοῖς πανταχοῦ πανηγύρεσι ζώοις, διὰ νόσους καὶ πλευμονὰς καὶ τὰς ὑγιαινόντων εἰς ἐναγεῖς ἀφέξεις, διὰ ὕποπλα, &c. where he urgeth this Reaſon from the unhealthfulneſs of the Place, which hapned to be διὰ νόσους καὶ πλευμονὰς, &c. *by the variety and conſtancy of the Diſeaſes which reigned among the People.* For beſides the general diſtemperature of the Air of *Egypt*, which was *calidus & nocivus*, hot and hurtful; as it is affirmed by * one that knew it well, inſomuch that a Plague at *Grand Cairo* could cut off twenty thouſand in one day: beſides, I ſay, theſe more univerſal Conditions, *Philo* intimateth from a particular Cauſe, that there ſhould be a more uſual Mortality here than elſewhere, and that was, the Concourſe of all manner

* Joan. Leo African.

ner of living Creatures to this place, ἅτε παντοδαπῶν πλήρωθέντα ζώων, &c. And it is to be conceived, that the Author meaneth by this not only a multitude of Men, but alſo that great variety of ſtrange Beaſts and Fowls which were continually bred up about the Court in *Alexandria*, mention whereof is made by *Ptolomy* the King in his Commentaries, *lib.* 12. which was ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλέων, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ζώων τροφοδῶν. And theſe Creatures were tranſported from all parts of the World, and there bred up, not only for their Rarity, and the King's Recreation, but alſo to furniſh his Table; for ſo it ſeemeth by *Ptolomy*'s Words in that Book, —τὰν τῶν φασιανῶν, ὃς τετράγωνας ὀνομάζουσι, ὃς ἐ μόνον ἐν Μηδείᾳ μετεπέμποντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Νομάδας ὄρνιθας ἐστιάσεων ἐπίκοινα πλήθει, ὡς καὶ αἰτίᾳ· where he noteth concerning thoſe Pheaſants that were called Τετράγωνοι, that the King of *Egypt* had of them not only brought out of *Media*, but alſo hatch'd at home in ſuch a number, that his Table might be ſerved with them when he pleaſed: though we may obſerve by the way, that theſe kind of Birds in thoſe days were (for the moſt part) kept for the Eye, rather than for the Belly; inſomuch that *Ptolomy* the King, in the Book before cited, profeſſeth, that he never taſted of a Pheaſant in all his life; whereupon *Athenæus* obſerveth, That if this noble King had lived in his days, wherein the Luxury was ſuch, that every Man muſt have a Pheaſant at his Table, (though he had already written twenty four Books in this kind, yet) he ſaith, that he would ſurely have written one more purpoſely to note out this thing. This by the way, becauſe *Philo* ſaith, that the Places within the City were παντοδαπῶν πλήρωθέντα ζώων, full of all manner of Creatures. And this howſoever urged by him only for a greater cauſe of Infection, yet it may be thought by ſome to have a further aim: for the *Egyptian* being aware of this, that the *Jew* was bound to make a diſtinction between clean and unclean Beaſts, might apprehend it in the ſtrictneſs; and therefore carefully remove the Seniors from the very ſight of thoſe things which were an abomination unto them. But in this we have but prevented the Curious, and therefore

fore if the Conjecture be not sound enough, it may be the less regarded.

But more than what is urged by *Philo* for the ill disposition of the Place, may elsewhere be observed.

The Prophet *Nachum* saith, that *Alexandria* is situate upon the Waters, not only because the Waters lay all about it, but also גם נכנסי בעיר מחחת הארץ for that they were conveyed into it under ground, as *Chimhi* there hath it. And the *Arabian* more plainly in the *Nubian* Geography الذيل اغربي ضنها يعدل فتحت لقلاء بو رها كلها that is, *The River* Nile *coming from the West, runneth under the Arches of all their Houses.* The manner how this was done, is set down by *John Leo* in his Description of *Africa*; *Cuique ferè domui Civitatis ingens cisterna concamerata, crassisq; innitens fornicibus substructa est, in quas exundans Nilus per aquæductum in planitie magno artificio constructum extra Alexandriam deductus, sub ejus mœnibus demittitur, &c.* This artificial conveyance of the River, though it be otherwise acceptable to the Inhabitants, yet it could not be without some annoyance to the Air, the Complexion whereof suffered much alteration by the noisom Vapours which rose up out of the Waters, which in tract of time putrified in their Cisterns. It is the experience of this *John* in the Words following, *Cisternæ porrò temporis successu turbidæ ac cœnosæ redditæ plurimis æstivo tempore languoribus occasionem præbent, &c.* And the same Author affordeth us yet another inconvenience, to make us more sure of the Insalubrity of this Place: and it ariseth by reason of certain little Gardens planted near to the City, the fruits whereof were of such an ill Condition, that the Inhabitants were thereby made subject to very noxious Fevers, and many other Diseases: for so *John* reporteth in the Chapter aforesaid, *Juxta aquæductum per quem Nilus in Civitatem transmittitur, exigui visuntur Horti, sed quorum fructus ad maturitatem perventi accolas noxiis febribus aliisque morbis afficiunt, &c.*

These things considered, the Reason was good, why the Isle should be chosen rather than the City, to be a Place for the Interpreters.

Thus

Thus much therefore we are come to know upon good Authority, That our Tranſlation was made in the great Tower of the Iſle *Pharos*, near to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*: We go on to a more diſtinct deſignation of the Place, the conſideration whereof ſhall alſo diſcover unto us after what manner the thing was done.

FOr the Manner of the Tranſlation, the Opinion of ſome is, That the Seniors were aſſembled in one and the ſame Place, where they performed the Work by comparing what was ſeverally done by each of them, and delivering up that for granted which could be agreed upon by all. This Opinion hath received its ground from the words of *Ariſtæas*; Οἱ δ' ὁπτέλευ ἔχασα συμφωνα πωιῆντις πρὸς ἑαυτὺς τῶς αὐ πῶλαῖς, τὸ δ' ὲκ τῆς συμφωνίας νενόμθον παπάντως ἀναγεγρῆς, ὅπως ὑπόχαντε παρὰ τῦ Δημητείυ, &c. And indeed the incouragement from hence for that way ſeemeth to be very good, the words themſelves being ſcarcely able to bear any other conſtruction than according to that which hath been ſaid.

Nevertheleſs, it is believed by others, that they did the Work ἐν ἰδιαζόσαις διαίταις ὄντας, (as *John Zonaras* hath it) καὶ ὡς τὸ τέλος ὁμῦ σωελθεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκάςων συγγραφὰς παραθηθείσας ἀλλήλαις ἑυρεθῆναι μήτε κατὰ νῦν, μήτε μὴν κατὰ λέξεις διαφωνόσας, ἀλλὰ συμφώνες ἐν ἅπασιν· that is, *Each of them being in a ſeveral Room, and when the work was finiſhed, they all met, and compared together what every man had done, and it was found that they differed nothing either in ſenſe or manner of expreſſion, but agreed in all*, &c.

This later way of the Story, however it may ſeem to exact upon our belief, as making report of more incredible Circumſtances; yet it may be taken up upon the greateſt truſt of Antiquity, having to alledge for it ſelf the conſtant and moſt undeniable Teſtimony of the Ancients.

The *Jews* report it from an immemorial Tradition, which their Talmudiſts deliver in the 10. Book of *Seder Moed*, in the Chap. *Megilla Nikra*, which is the 3. and fol. the 8. *B.* and the 9. *A.* where the Text of the Talmud ſaith on

Talmud in Sed. Moed.

on this manner, אין בין ספרים לתפילין ומזוזות אלא שספרים וכתבין בכל לשון ותפילין ומזוזות אינן נכתבות אלא אשורית רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר אף ספרים לא קתירו שיכתבו אלא יוונית that is, *There is no difference between the* Sepharim *and the* Tephillim *and* Mezuzoth, *ſave only that the* Sepharim *may be written in any Language; but the* Tephillim *and* Mezuzoth *only in the* Syriack *Tongue. But* Rabban Simeon, *the Son of* Gamaliel, *ſaith, that the* Sepharim *alſo might not be written in any other Language, the* Greek *only excepted.* By the *Tephillim* and *Mezuzoth* the Doctors meant thoſe Schedules which were inſcribed with ſet Forms of Devotion, and placed upon the Poſts of their Houſes, or otherwiſe worn in their Foreheads.

By the *Sepharim*, or Books, they intended ספרי תורה נביאים וכתובים the Books of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and ſo the *Sepharim* are here expounded by the Gloſs upon this place. By occaſion of theſe words in the *Miſhna*, *R. Jehudah* relateth this Story in the *Gemara*, מעשה בתלמי המלך שכינס שבעים ושנים זקנים והכניסן בשבעים ושנים בתים ולא גילה להם על מה כינסן ונכנס אצל כל אחד ואחד ואמר להם כתבו לי תורה משה רבכם נתן הקדוש ברוך הוא בלב כל ולוכ אחד ואחד עצה וחכמה רבולן לדעת אחו that is, *We receive it by Tradition, that King* Ptolmai *aſſembled together the ſeventy two Seniors, and placed them in ſeventy two ſeveral Conclaves, not making them acquainted with his purpoſe: (after that) going in to each of them, he ſaid unto them, Write me now down the Law of* Moſes *the Maſter. The bleſſed and glorious God put Underſtanding into every Man's Heart, and they all accorded in one and the ſame ſenſe.* So the Talmudiſts.

The very ſame Circumſtances of the Story are ſet down in their *Maſſicta Sopherim*, and by *Abraham Zacuth* in the Book *Juchaſin*, beſides the four Editions of their *Hebrew Joſephus*, or *Gorion*'s Son, in all which it is alſo extant. Among the *Arabians* there hath as yet come to my hands one only Chronologer of theſe times, ſaid to be the Son of *Batric*, and he alſo maketh the ſame report. And becauſe this

this Authour is not as yet made publick, it ſhall be here ſet down what he ſaith; ובי עשרין כנה מולכנ בעי אלי מדינח אורשלים ואשחק מנחא סבעין רגלא מן אליהוד אלי אלאסכנדר ואמרית אן יפסרו אלח ראח וכתב אלאבניא מן אלעבראניה אלי אליזנאניה וציר כל ואחד מוחם פי גיר מפרד עלי חד ה"ל לנויכר כיף תמרוד כל ואחד מנהם שלמא פכרוא אלכתב נסר אלי חאמורהם וכאתב מואפקה לנא חלח פיהא מחסע אלכתב וחחמחא חחת חאחמח וציר הא פי חיכל צנס חקאל לח צראבין that is, *And in the twentieth year of the Reign of* (Ptolomy) *the King went up to the City* Jeruſalem, *and brought with him from thence ſeventy men of the* Jews *unto* Alexandria, *and commanded them, ſaying, Interpret unto me your Book of the Law and the Prophets out of the* Hebrew *into* Greek. *And he put every one of them into a ſeveral* Cell *by himſelf, that he might ſee how each of them would interpret apart. And when they had finiſhed their work, the King ſaw what every man had done, and their Writings all concorded, nothing was contrary in any one of them. So the Book (of the Interpretation) was ſealed up, and put into the Houſe of their God* Serapis, *&c.*

Said Aben Beta Arabs in Hiſtoria Eccleſ.

Thus ſaid the Son of *Batric*, according to the Manuſcript Copy of his *Hiſtoria*, which I ſaw at *Cambridge* in the Archives of their Publick Library.

Philo Judæus, though he maketh no expreſs mention of the *Cells*, yet if he doth not intimate ſome ſuch thing, let the Reader tell us what he meaneth by this: Καθίσαντες δὲ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, καὶ μηδενὸς παρόντος, ὅτι μὴ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, οὐρανοῦ (τοῦ δὲ ὧν πρῶτον τῆς γενέσεως ἔμελλον ἐφάπτεσθαι, κοσμοποιΐα γὰρ ἡ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ) καὶ προφητεύσαντες ἐνθουσιῶντες ἐφοίτησαν, οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑποβολέως ἑτέρου πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐναρχομένου· that is, *And they ſate down privately by themſelves, and having no other company but the parts of Nature, the Earth, the Waters, the Air, and the Heavens, (the myſtery of whoſe Creation their firſt Work was to diſcover, this being the beginning of* Moſes's *Law) they prophecied as if they had been divinely inſpired; not one one thing, and another another; but all in the ſame ſenſe and*

words, as if they had been prompted by some invisible Director.

In these words, however it may be said, we are not certain that the Author intended our matter of the *Cells*; yet thus much we can be sure of, That he pointeth out such a way of Interpretation, as carrieth with it no less of wonder than the former.

But *Justin* the Martyr, a *Samaritan*, speaketh it plainly, and with a very remarkable confidence; as we read in his Παραινεσις to the *Gentiles*, where he saith, That the King appointed ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ἑρμηνευτὰς ὁμοίους ἀλλήλοις, *to each of the Interpreters a small several Cell,* ἐν τῷ ἔσχατον οἴκῳ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἑρμηνεύειν παρόντα, *that every man might perform the Interpretation by himself.* And having said something of their wonderful agreement, he proceedeth against the incredulity of all Men by this resolute enforcement, strongly urged from his own experience.

Ταῦτα ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἐπλασάμεθα ἐνυπνίας ἀπαγγέλλομεν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν, καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν οἴκων ἐν τῇ Φάρῳ ἐνεργῶς ὄντα θεωροῦμεν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ, οἷς τὸ πίστευμα παρειλήφαμεν, ἀκηκόαμεν, ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλομεν, &c. that is, *This, O ye* Gentiles, *we report unto you, not in the guise of a Fable or a feigned Story, but as a received Tradition, delivered unto us by the Inhabitants of the Place: for we our selves also being at* Alexandria, *saw the remainder of those* Cells, *and they are yet to be seen in the Isle* Pharos *at this present day.*

To this undoubted Testimony of *Justin Martyr*, may be added that of *Irenæus*, who in the same Century maketh the like report. *Ptolomy*, saith he, ἐνθυμηθεὶς μήπως ἄρα συνθέμενοι ἀποκρύψωσι τὸν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, διὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας, ἀλήθειαν, χωρίσας αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πάντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεύσαι γεῖρον· καὶ τῶν ὁσαύτως ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν βιβλίων ἐποίησε, &c. *considering with himself, that if they should be suffered to confer one with another, they might perchance conceal something of the verity of their Scripture, by ways of Interpretation; he separated them each from other, and commanded them that every man should translate the same part: and this Order was observed in all the Book,* &c. And concerning their Agreement, he saith, *That they*

they all ſet down the ſame things, ταὐτὰ ἀυτᾶ φράζειν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀπαρχῆς μέχρι τέλους· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἔθνη γνῶναι, ὅτι κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἑρμηνευόμενα τὰ γεγραμμένα· *in the ſame ſenſe, and in the ſame words; inſomuch that all people that were then preſent acknowledged, that the Tranſlation was made by the inſpiration of God, &c.* And that the wonder of the Work might not be an hinderance to it ſelf, to make it ſeem the leſs probable for being ſtrange, he excuſeth it by another of the ſame kind; Καὶ ἔδει γε θαυμάσαι, εἰ Θεὸν τὸν ὑπηρετήσαντα &c. *And we have the leſs cauſe* (ſaith he) *to marvel that God ſhould thus do, ſeeing he wrought as great a miracle for his Scripture by the hand of* Ezra *in the reſtitution of the Law.*

In the third Century the credit of the Story is upheld by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*; and in the fourth, by *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*. *Clemens* ſaith, Ἑκάστῳ δὲ ὧν μέρει κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκέλευσε ἑρμηνεύσαντες προφητείαν, συνάπτουσαι αἱ πᾶσαι ἑρμηνεῖαι αὐτῶν ἐθόησαν, καὶ τὰς διανοίας, καὶ τὰς λέξεις· *that every one of them having interpreted by himſelf, according to his proper Inſpiration, the Tranſlations were compared, and they were all found to agree both in ſenſe and words.*

But *Cyril* more perſpicuouſly and at large;

Καὶ τὸ μὴ συνδύασαι αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Φάρῳ, τῇ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κειμένῃ, ἴδιον ἑκάστῳ μέρος ἑρμηνευτὴν ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι τὸν οἶκον ὑπονόμιον, φάσας τοὺς γεγραφὰς ἐπιτρέψειν ἑρμηνεῦσαι· τούτων δὲ ἐν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο ἡμέρας πληρωσάντων τὸν ὁμοῦ πάντων ἑρμηνείας καὶ διαφόρους οὔσας, ἀλλήλοις μὴ συμπίπτειν, ἀποδόντων τὸ συνάγωγον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἓν μόνον ἐν νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν λέξεσιν εὑρὸν συμφωνοῦντας· ἓν γὰρ ἐνεργοῦσα καὶ κατισχύουσα σοφία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἃ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι λαληθέντων θείων γεγραφῶν ἑρμηνεία συνετελεῖτο, &c. that is, *And (the King) providing that the Interpreters which were ſent him might not come together, appointed for each of them a ſeveral* Cell *in the Iſle* Pharos, *near to* Alexandria; *and to each of them was delivered the whole Bible to tranſlate. And being thus ſeparated the one from the other, every Man's part was finiſhed within the ſpace of ſeventy two days; at which time they all met together, and having compared their Tranſlations, they were found to concord, not only in the meaning, but alſo in the*

very manner of expreſſion. For this Tranſlation was not ſet forth in pleaſing words, or the pomp of humane Sophiſtry; but all was interpreted by the ſame Spirit by which it was firſt delivered, &c.

In the fourth Century we find the Tradition remembred by *Epiphanius*, but not without ſome alteration of the Circumſtances; for he ſaith that the Tranſlation was performed ἐν τεσσάρκοντα ἓξ οἰκίσκοις, ζυγὰ ζυγὰ κατ' οἰκίσκον, *in thirty ſix* Cells, *by two and two in a* Cell. But *Secarius* hopeth to reconcile this to the former: for though (ſaith he) there were but ſix and thirty *Cells*, yet each of theſe were double; and ſo every two of the Tranſlators were ſeparated the one from the other by a Partition.

This moderation of the Words, though it hath not ſo much evidence as would be required, yet it hath a notable pretenſe; becauſe *Epiphanius* himſelf ſaith that the *Cells* were double: Τὸν δὲ συναριθμὸν τεσσάρκοντα ἓξ οἰκίσκους ὁ ἡμῶν Πτολεμαῖος κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ πέργῳ εἰς τὸν νῆσον, διπλοῦς τε αὐτοὺς ποιήσας, δύο δύο ἐκέλευσεν. And it may ſeem alſo to be the Emperour's mind, in Cap. *Sancimus* of the 146. Novel, where he ſaith concerning theſe Interpreters, ὅτι κατὰ δύο διαιρεθέντες, καὶ κατὰ διαφόρους ἐρημωτάτους τόπους, ὅμως μίαν ἅπαντες ἐκδεδώκασι σωτηρίαν. *That being divided by two and two, and ſet in ſeveral places, yet they all delivered up the ſame Tranſlation, &c.* But theſe words of the Law would not willingly be put to this conſtruction: That of *John Zonaras* is ſomething nearer to the Reconciliation; for he writeth καὶ δύο διαιρεθῆναι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐν ἰδιαζούσαις διαίταις ὄντας, ἐνδιδόναι τὴν ἑρμηνείαν *That the Interpreters of the Law were divided into couples, and that they were placed every one in a ſeveral Conclave*: For ſo much may ſeemingly be gained by the word ἰδιαζούσαις· becauſe ἰδιάζεται is as much as ποιεῖζεται, which noteth out *one ſeparated from company*, or μόνῳ φιλοσοφεῖν, which is to be ſaid *of him that is alone, and talketh to himſelf*; for ſo the Gloſs of this word ἰδιάζεται is given both by *Heſychius* and *Phavorinus*.

But if this way of the Story will not be reconciled to the former, then it muſt be ſaid that *Epiphanius* was but one,

one, and that his teſtimony is not of greater authority than theirs that went before; and the leſs, for coming after them: and that the Tradition (as it uſeth to be) was otherwiſe told afar off than nearer home; and that *Epiphanius* ſpake as he heard ſay: whereas *Juſtin Martyr* was himſelf at *Pharos*, and ſaw the *Tower*, and that which was left of the *Cells*, and was throughly informed by the Inhabitants of the Place.

Thus we ſee with what confidence this paſſage of the Story hath been reported and received, during the ſpace of five hundred years, ſince the time of the Tranſlation. And it ſeemeth to have been done upon the beſt ſecurity; becauſe not only the *Jews* and their Talmudiſts, but alſo the Reverend Fathers of the Church, ſtand bound to make it good: and theſe, beſides their Eſtimation otherwiſe, ought in this eſpecially to be look'd after, for that they are all ancient, and becauſe they all agree; pure Antiquity being the ſafeſt Judge of things done in times paſt, and conſent of Authority the ſureſt Argument of ſuch Antiquity. When we ſay that they all agree (if it muſt needs be) we except *Epiphanius*. But why ſhould we ſo do, ſeeing that his thirty ſix *Cells*, if they were doubled, (as he ſaith that they were διπλᾶς) are as many in number as the ſeventy two of the reſt are? If they were not, it leſſeneth but the number of the *Cells*, taketh little away from the Miracle of the Interpretation: or if it did, yet the ſingle teſtimony of *Epiphanius* will not be ſeen through ſuch a cloud of Witneſſes.

But, beſides our Authority from the Ancients, we may gain ſome probability towards the credit of the *Cells*, if it be inquired into the Cauſes which ought to move the King to reſolve upon ſuch a way for the Tranſlation.

Two Reaſons eſpecially may be urged for this: the one whereof eſpecially concerns the purpoſe of the Tranſlation, and both of them the King's ſatisfaction.

For the Purpoſe of God in the Tranſlation, it was one of thoſe things which might be required for the coming in of the Gentiles, that the Scripture ſhould be provided before-hand in ſuch a language as would be moſt general-

ly

ly known at the Primitive times; therefore it was neceſſary that all Religious care ſhould be had of the Tranſlation, and that it ſhould be ſafely laid up and reſerved for the time appointed: And that the Kings of *Egypt* might ſee to this, it was needful that they ſhould be prepoſſeſt with a ſtrong conceit of the Divinity of this Law: and this could not be more conveniently done, than by ſuch a miraculous circumſtance of the Interpretation: For otherwiſe, why ſhould *Ptolomy* think more divinely of the Law of *Moſes* than of his own? ſeeing that all ways of Religion would ſeem ſtrange, but that we are taught betimes to fear; and till we receive a Spirit of Judgment to diſcern the right way, every way is thought to be wrong but that which we are brought up in. And why ſhould *Ptolomy* have a better opinion of *Moſes* than of his *Hermes Triſmegiſt?* who as he is accounted by ſome to have gone before this *Moſes* in time, ſo by others he is thought not to have come far behind him in worth and excellency. But what could *Moſes* teach to them, who had all his Learning from thence? for he was brought up a Scholar in *Egypt*. And what would be thought of theſe Scriptures, when the King ſhould hear it read in *Oſee*, that God commanded a Prophet to commit Adultery; and in *Exodus*, that he taught his own People how to cozen the *Egyptians?*

That of *Solomon*, *As the wiſe man dieth, ſo dieth the fool*, how would it ſtand with their Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls? according to which the Soul of a Wiſe man ought to paſs into ſuch an one, and the Soul of a Fool into an Aſs.

For the Reſurrection of the Body, ſmall comfort was to be had from the dry Bones in the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*. The *Egyptian* had better hopes than theſe, for he had his dead Bodies ſtill to ſhew; and ſuch as had gotten by their Mortality, for they were every day leſs ſubject to Corruption than before.

And whereas it is ſaid, That there was no God like the God of the *Hebrews*: Could the King believe that, when he ſhould find in theſe Scriptures, that even this God alſo had

a *Right*

a *Right hand*, and a *Son*? or if he had been ſo much better than thoſe of the Heathen, was it likely that *Aaron* his own High-Prieſt would have preferred their *Apis*, or the Calf of *Egypt*, before him?

When theſe things ſhould come to be conſidered by the unſanctified diſcretion of the Heathen, how could they chuſe but appear far beſide and below their own Majeſty? For ſuch untoward Notions as theſe muſt ſeem to be, could never argue to him that perfection and tranſcendency of Style and Matter which the Law of *Moſes* had pretended. Therefore that the King might be brought on to a reverend eſtimation of thoſe things, it was much to the purpoſe that he ſhould be thus prepared by a Wonder: For it greatly concern'd the ſafety of the Tranſlation, that it ſhould be firſt eſteemed by the King: for otherwiſe, Principles ſo averſe from the *Gentiles* manner of Devotion had never been ſuffered to lie at all, or not long, in the Library at *Alexandria*; becauſe even the opinion of a new way in Religion can never proſper without a precedent, and ſuch an one as is beyond all exception; and though it be never ſo wiſely ſuggeſted, yet it ſeldom gaineth reputation from leſſer examples than that of a King. And it ſeemeth, by that we find in *Juſtin Martyr*, that the Miracle wrought the very ſame effect in *Ptolomy* as we would have it; for he ſaith, Ἐπεὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας μὴ μόνον τῇ αὐτῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσι χρησαμένους, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας μᾶλλον λέξεως τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμφωνίας ἀπαρεγκλίτους, ἀλλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως γεγραφότας, ἐκπλαγεὶς, καὶ θεῖα δωρεὰν τῶν ἑρμηνέων γεγενῆσθαι πιστεύσας, πάντας μὲν πρὸς ἀξίαν αὐτοὺς ἐθεοφιλεῖς ἀνδρας ἔλεγε δεῖν εἶναι, μετὰ πολλῶν δὲ λόγων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον αὖθις ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τόπον, &c. *That the King perceiving that theſe ſeventy men had all agreed, not only in the matter, but alſo in the manner of their Interpretation, inſomuch that no man differed from another in a word, but every man expreſſed the ſame conceit, and by the ſame phraſe; he ſtood amazed, and nothing doubting but that the Interpretation was wrought by Divine Power, he acknowledged that the Interpreters were worthy of all honour, as being Men to whom God did bear a peculiar reſpect: and having firſt given them*

condign

condign reward, he took order for their departure into their own Countrey.

And the ſame effect which the Wonder wrought upon the Prince, it wrought alſo upon the People; for ſo it appeareth by that which is already obſerved out of *Irenæus*, ὥστε καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος γνῶναι, &c.

Thus we ſee that the purpoſe of God in the Tranſlation would not only endure, but did alſo very conveniently require, that ſomething in the buſineſs ſhould be miraculous, for the King's better inſtruction, and that the Scriptures might have ſo much honour and admiration as might gain them ſomething in the opinion of the Heathen, and preſerve them from the injuries of Time.

And this was to be the firſt Reaſon.

The ſecond Reaſon, for which the King ought to take ſuch a way for the Tranſlation, is, For that he made queſtion of their Fidelity.

And that this may be accepted for a ſufficient Cauſe, it ſhall be ſet down, That the King's miſtruſt was raiſed upon ſuch ſurmiſes as were no ways frivolous, but contained in them matter of moment.

For it could not be expected from any Nation in thoſe days, that they ſhould be truſty in revealing the ſecrets of their Religion; but from the *Jews* it would be thought impoſſible: for this Nation ſtood ſo nicely affected to their *Sepher Hattorah*, or Book of the Law, that even in the ſlighteſt Circumſtances it was obſerved with an incredible curioſity of Devotion.

Mahomet Abulcaſim, the Son of *Abdalla*, regarded the eſteem of his *Alcoran* ſo far, as to provide by a Law, that upon the outſide thereof this Caution ſhould be always written, לא יגע באלא המטוהר *Let no man touch this Book but he that is Pure.* And the Law is yet in force among the *Turks* for ſome ſpecial *Alcorans* of note, one of which ſort inſcribed in the ſame manner, may be ſeen in the Archives of our publick Library.

But the *Jews*, not contented with ſo much care, uſed a more intolerable kind of circumſpection: for Rabbi *Nehemiah*

hemiah ſaith in the *Maſſichta Sopherim*, Chapter 3. *Halac*, לא יתננו על גבי ארכובותיו ויהן אצילו עליו ויתנא קורא *That no man may lay (their Book of the Law) upon his knee, nor lean upon it with his elbows, when he readeth it.* And *Halac* the 10. it is commanded, לא ירוק אדם כנגד כתוב ולא יחזיר אחורין *that no man ſhall ſpit in preſence of this Book, nor offer to turn his back upon it.*

And in the ſame Tract, *Halac* 13. it is ſaid, לא יתננו ער נבי מטתו ולא נמרגלות המטה ולא תחת המטה ולא ישב אדם ער נבי המטה וספר עליד דומה מעשה בר אלעזר שושב לו ער נבי חמוסה וספר עליה דומה רמי שנשכו נחש that is, *That no man ſhall lay this Book under or upon his bed, or at his beds feet; neither ſhall any man ſit upon his bed having this book lying upon him; for* Rabbi Eliezer *did thus, and a Serpent came and bit him.* All this care was taken for the out-ſide, but much more for that which was within. To let paſs other Circumſtances which would make this manifeſt, we have need onely of that one which moſt of all concerneth our matter in hand; and it is, That for the moſt part among the *Jews* it was accounted an odious profanation of this Law, if it were any ways communicated to the Heathen.

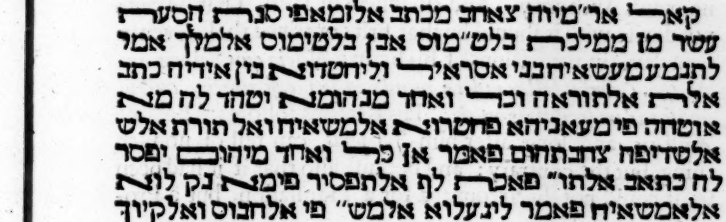
To this purpoſe note that of the *junior Becchai*, ולכיאר &c. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *there are* בחכמת תורתנו *in the wiſdom of our Law,* דברי נקיו ראוים להסתר *pure words, and worthy to be kept ſecret*; therefore ſaith he, חייב אתה להעלו שלא תוציאם מפיך כענין שכתוב יהיו לך לבדך ואין לזרים אתך *Thou art bound to conceal them, and never to impart them, according to the ſenſe of that which is written, They ſhall be to thee, to thee alone, and not to the ſtranger with thee.* So the Son of *Aſer* at the beginning of his Commentary upon the Law, *fol.* 3. *A. Col.* 1. Therefore that which *Maimon* ſaith contrary to this in *Halaca Tephill* of his *Miſne Torah*, *cap.* 10. muſt be otherwiſe excuſed; for *Elias* the Levite in his ſecond *Preface* to the *Hammaſoreth*, expreſly affirmeth from the Tradition of the Ancients, that nothing might be communicated to the *Gentiles*, ſave only *the ſeven Precepts of the* מצות שבע בני נוח *Sons of* Noah: but

as for מעשה בראשית התורה the *Hiſtory of the Creation*, the *Law*, and ſuch like, whoſoever ſhall impart theſe לגוי to the Heathen, ירד שאולה ביגון ורוחו ונשמתתפח *He ſhall go down to the grave in ſorrow, and his life and ſoul ſhall be conſumed, &c.* The *Rabbin* goeth on, and hath much ado to excuſe himſelf there to the *Jews*, by whom he was given over for a Reprobate, only for teaching his great Patron Cardinal *Giles* the *Hebrew* Tongue; becauſe their fear was left by this means the Cardinal might come to the underſtanding of their Law.

But more than this, (that it was unlawful for the *Jew* to make any other Nation acquainted with their Law) it may be added, that there was a Reaſon in ſpecial why it ſhould be diſſembled to this *Ptolemy*, Becauſe the Communication of it had ſucceeded ſo ill in the days of his Father. For *Ptolemy* Σωτὴρ having learned that the *Jew* would do no manner of Work upon a Sabbath-day, made that an opportunity to take their City: which was as eaſily as ingloriouſly done, becauſe no man upon that day would reſiſt him; for to them it was a breach of the Sabbath, even to ſave their lives. And this is objected unto them by *Agatharchides* of *Cnidus*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, where he ſetteth down this ſtory; Ἔστιν ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων λεγόμενον, ὃι πόλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ἔχοντες Ἱεροσόλυμα, ταύτην ὑφεῖδον ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ ἡγουμένῳ, ὅπλα λαβεῖν ἢ βοηθῆσαντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ ἄκραν δεισιδαιμονίαν χαλεπὴν ὑπέμειναν ἔχειν δεσπότην· that is, *There is a certain Nation called the* Jews, *and they inhabit the great and well-fenced City* Jeruſalem: *This City they negligently yielded into the hands of* Ptolemy, *and would not take up Arms for their own protection; chuſing rather to become Vaſſals to a Stranger, than to defend themſelves upon the Sabbath-day.* Theſe Reaſons, if they ſtood alone, had enough in them to make the King miſtruſt his Interpreters: and yet, if Antiquity hath not miſinformed us, there will be one Reaſon more, which it ſelf alone ought to have prevailed, though all the reſt had been wanting: For we find that the Tranſlation was twice performed, and that the Seniors diſagreed the firſt time. In this paſſage of Story, I ſuppoſe,

we

we ſhall tell the Reader ſome news. Our Author is one *Armius*, of whom we know nothing more than his Name: his Words ſhall be here ſet down as we find them cited by an *Arabick* Commentator upon the *Pentateuch*, in his Preface to that Work.



Arab. Mſs. in ſ. lib. Moyſis literis Syriacis conſcriptus, in Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

Thus ſaith *Armius* the Chronologer; *In the nineteenth year of the Reign of* Ptolemy, *the Son of* Ptolemy, *the King commanded that they ſhould gather together the Seniors of the Children of* Iſrael, *and that they ſhould bring with them the Book of the Law in their hands, and that each of them in ſeveral ſhould tranſlate it accordingly as it ſhould be revealed to his underſtanding. And the Seniors came and preſented themſelves together with their moſt divine Book of the Law. And the King's command was, That every man ſhould tranſlate the whole Book. And it came to paſs, that the Seniors diſagreed in their Interpretation; and the King commanded to put them in priſon, and in chains, &c.* Thus we ſee that the King was led by good reaſon to a ſuſpicion of his Interpreters, and that therefore in all probability he would take ſuch a courſe for his Tranſlation as we have already made report of, according to the Teſtimony of the Ancients.

But nothing ever lighted ſo heavy upon this matter of the *Cells*, as the Authority of S. *Hierom*, which was the more likely to oppreſs it by reaſon of his great Learning and general Repute; becauſe a Teſtimony, for the moſt part, is not meaſured by its own validity, but the Author's worth; and we do not uſually obſerve what force it may have in it ſelf, but from whence it came.

S. *Hierom*, when he cometh to conſider of the Tranſla-

tion of the *Seventy*, ſeemeth to deride the paſſage of the *Cells*, and forſaking the conſtant Tradition of his Forefathers, in a very neglectful manner, peremptorily ſetteth down upon his own truſt, that the Hiſtory of the *Cells* is *Vulgò ſine autore jactata*, but a Common Report bruited abroad under no man's Authority. And elſewhere he ſaith, That he cannot deviſe who it ſhould be that firſt contrived theſe ſeventy Conclaves in the fictions of his brain; *Neſcio quis primus autor 70. Cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio ſuo exſtruxerit, quibus diviſi eadem ſcriptitârint, &c.* His Reaſons follow: * Becauſe *Ariſtæus*, and long after him *Joſephus*, can tell of no ſuch thing, but the contrary: and becauſe alſo that if it had been ſo, it could not be accounted for a Tranſlation, but a Prophecy. So S. *Hierom*.

*Cùm Ariſtæas, ejuſdem Ptolemæi ὑφηγητής, & multò poſt tempore Joſephus, nihil tale retulerint, ſed in unica Baſilica congregatos contuliſſe ſcribant, non prophetâſſe, &c. Hieron. præf. in Pentateuch. ep. 104. p. 341. tom. 3.

But, before we receive his Teſtimony, it ſhall be examined, and compared; and leaving his Reaſons to the laſt place, we will firſt of all beſeemingly moderate the ſtrong Opinion of his Name.

True it is, that S. *Hierom* in Learning and Knowledge could not be inferiour to any of his time, and therefore being a great Scholar, he might the eaſilier fall into that common infirmity of thoſe that know much, go about to raiſe his own Reputation by the ruine of another Man's. If the Father were thus inclin'd, he could not be without ſo much of a Critick as would teach him to cenſure, which things while we do, our Ambition ſeeking for its own ſafety, always aimeth at thoſe that are fartheſt off, and leaſt able to help themſelves. Therefore the Ancients, and thoſe that are dead, are more eaſily reprehended than the lateſt, and the living. It is not for me to ſay, that the Reverend Father was guilty in this; and yet if he were not, why is it objected unto him by his Adverſary *Ruffinus* in the ſecond Book of his Invectives? *Quid ergò mirum eſt*, (ſaith he) *ſi me minimum, & nullius numeri hominem lacerat, ſi Ambroſium ſecet, ſi Hilarium, ſi Lactantium, ſi Didymum reprehendat? &c.* and afterwards he ſaith, that he ſpared *neque antiquos neque novellos Scriptores, ſed omnes omnino nunc imperitiæ, nunc ineptiæ, notat*; neither the Ancient nor the Modern Writers, but

p. 181. tom. 9.

p. 183. ibid.

but charged them all, and every one of them, with unskilfulneſs and folly; *ut erat in quod intenderat vehemens*, ſo eager he would be for his own opinion; as learned *Vives* hath noted concerning him, in his obſervation upon the 42. Chap. of *Auſtin*'s 18. Book *De Civitate Dei*. But if this be to be ſuſpected, as coming from his Enemy; yet how ſhall he be there excuſed, where he would not ſpare S. *Paul* himſelf at a Criticiſm? For reading that Place in the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, *Quæ ſunt rationem quidem habentia, &c.* he writeth to * *Algaſia*, that the Conjunction (*quidem*) is there redundant; and that S. *Paul* had often done as much as that came to, *propter imperitiam artis Grammaticæ, &c.* He ſaith, that the great Doctor of the *Gentiles* did not underſtand his Grammar; as if the Spirit in Scripture would not look to the Syntax; or if not, as if he that had diſputed among the Philoſophers at *Athens*, had been ſo ignorant in his Accidence, as not to know how to place a Conjunction. Chap. 2. v. 23. * Queſt. 10. p. 433. tom. 3.

He that could ſay of S. *Paul*, that he was an ill-grounded Scholar, 'twas no marvel that he cenſur'd *Lactantius*, S. *Ambroſe*, S. *Hilarie*, and *Didymus*: and yet if theſe alſo could not eſcape his reprehenſion, I ſhould not willingly truſt him with *Ariſtæas*, nor our Hiſtory of the *Septuagint*.

But let the Father be pardoned for being a Critick, and take S. *Hierom* in the beſt ſenſe; let him be a man of a moſt mature and moſt moderate Judgment, and one that could think as well of other men as of himſelf: yet why are we bound to believe S. *Hierom*, rather than *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and the reſt? Why one man, rather than ſo many? Why a late Author, rather than thoſe that went before him?

But let it be ſuppoſed that this Learned Father could diſcern above all this; yet his Teſtimony could not be taken for this matter, becauſe we find it guilty of partiality.

For we are to be adviſed, that S. *Hierom*, having gotten a competent knowledge in the *Hebrew* Tongue, by great induſtry, and converſation with the *Jews*, eſpecially his conſtant Tutor *Barabbas*, undertook a new Tranſlation of the *Bible*, according to the Original.

This

This though in it ſelf a very laudable and pious Enterpriſe, and pretended alſo to be moſt neceſſarily done, becauſe of divers and dangerous Corruptions wherewith the *Greek* Tranſlation was found to be incumbred; yet becauſe it was preferred in an Age which was ſtrongly addicted to the *Septuagint*, it would not be taken at the Father's hands: Therefore all men cri'd out upon S. *Hierom*, ſatisfying themſelves with this, That the *Greek* Tranſlation was delivered by the peculiar entercourſe and inſpiration of God, and therefore ought not to be ſo deſperately handled by a Man; That the Wiſdom of the Church had thus long received it with an irreſiſtible devotion; and why therefore ſhould it now be called in queſtion? or what hope could there be of a better? and therefore what need of another Tranſlation? This we are ſure of, becauſe it may be diſcovered by the Father's own Complaint againſt the men of his Time. See the Prologue to his *Hebrew* Tradition upon *Geneſis*: *Neque verò 70 Interpretum, ut invidi latrant, errores arguimus, nec noſtrum laborem illorum reprehenſionem putamus.* See alſo his Apology againſt *Ruffinus*, chap. 7, 8. And it very well appeareth by the words of *Auſtin* in his Epiſtle to this *Hierom*, where he declareth himſelf to be very much againſt his new Tranſlation. See the 43. Chap. of his 18. Book *De Civitate Dei*: *Quamvis non defuerit temporibus noſtris Preſbyter Hieronymus, &c.* In his 8. Epiſtle he goeth about to controll the Father by this Dilemma: Thoſe things (ſaith he) which were Tranſlated by the Septuagint, *Aut obſcura ſunt, aut manifeſta: ſi obſcura ſunt, te quoque in eis falli potuiſſe non immeritò creditur; ſi autem manifeſta, ſuperfluum eſt te voluiſſe explanare quod illos latere non potuit:* Either they were eaſie, or hard to be underſtood: if eaſie, to what purpoſe then ſhould you explain that which they could not be ignorant of? if they were hard to be underſtood, what hopes can there be that you ſhould not be deceived as well as they? But the Father here diſputeth *ex falſo ſuppoſito*, framing his Argument as if the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint* had eſcaped till that time without the contraction of any Error or Corruption, which if it had been, * S. *Hierom* confeſſeth himſelf to be in

Hiero. proœ. ad Trad. Heb. in Gen. p. 451. tom. 3.

Aug. epiſt. 8. fol. 82. tom. 2.

* Hiero. præf. in Paralipo. 1. Epiſt. 107. ad Chromatium epiſc. p. 343. tom. 1.

all

all the fault, in his Epiſtle to *Chromatius*, which is the Preface in *Lib. Paralipom. Si Septuaginta Interpretum pura, & ut ab iis in Græcum verſa eſt, editio permaneret; ſuperfluè me*, Chromati, *Epiſcoporum Sanctiſſime atque doctiſſime, impelleres ut Hebræa volumina Latino ſermone transferrem; quod enim ſemel aures hominum occupaverat & naſcentis Eccleſiæ roboraverat fidem, juſtum erat etiam noſtro ſilentio comprobari, &c.*

Nevertheleſs, by this it is perceivable how unwilling S. *Auſtin* was that there ſhould be a new Tranſlation: and though afterwards, upon better advice, he was contented to ſee it, *Ideo autem deſidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, &c. Epiſt. 19. fol. 18. A. ib.* yet he would never yield to this, that it ſhould be read in Churches; and he giveth the reaſon, *Propterea me nolle tuam ex Hebræo interpretationem in Eccleſiis legi, nè contra Septuaginta Autoritatem tanquam novum aliquid proferentes magno Scandalo perturbemus plebes Chriſti, quarum aures & corda illam interpretationem audire conſueverunt, quæ etiam ab Apoſtolis approbata eſt:* Leſt it being taken as ſome new thing introduced againſt the Authority of the *Septuagint*, much ſcandal ſhould be given to the People of God, whoſe hearts and ears have been all this while accuſtomed to that Tranſlation, as a thing approved by the very Apoſtles themſelves. And S. *Auſtin* ſpeaketh this out of ſome experience; for he had already told S. *Hierom*, in his 10. Epiſtle, of a certain Biſhop who had given way that this new *Latin* Tranſlation ſhould be read in his Church, but with very ill ſucceſs: for when the People underſtood that S. *Hierom* in the Prophecy of *Jonah*, had put it down *Hederam*, in ſtead of that which anciently, according to the *Greek*, had been *Cucurbitam*, there was a great Tumult raiſed among the Pariſhioners, inſomuch that the Biſhop was forced to ask Counſel of the *Jews*; who notwithſtanding that they had anſwered, that the Original word might bear either of thoſe Conſtructions, yet the People would not be contented till the Biſhop had blotted out *Hedera*, and ſet down *Cucurbita*, according to that which was before.

Quidam frater noſter epiſcopus cùm lectitare inſtituiſſet in eccleſia cui præe. &c Aug. Hieron. epiſt. 10. fol. 10. a. Col. 1.

And certainly, the New Tranſlation took ſo ill abroad, that ſome one or other, to put by the Opinion of the Thing, feigned

Scribit frater Eũſebius ſe apud Afros epiſcopos, &c. Apol. adverſ. Ruffin. lib. 2. p. 248. tom. 2.

feigned an Epiſtle in the name of S. *Hierom*, where he maketh the Father to confeſs how ill he had done in Tranſlating the Original Scripture into *Latin*; ſeeing that in the *Hebrew* Text there was no truth at all: He alſo maketh him to ſay, that this was a thing done in his younger days, and by the inſtigation of the *Jews*. And this Epiſtle was found among the *African* Biſhops by *Euſebius*, by whoſe means it was conveyed to S. *Hierom*.

Theſe things are acknowledged by S. *Hierom* himſelf in his Apology againſt *Ruffinus*; where alſo he ſaith, *Ergò ille qui epiſtolam ſub nomine meo pœnitentiæ finxerat, quòd malè Hebræa volumina tranſtuliſſem, objicere dicitur me in Septuaginta condemnationem Scripturas ſanctas interpretatum; ut ſive falſa ſunt, ſive vera quæ tranſtuli, in crimine maneam, dum aut in novo opere fatear me errâſſe, aut recens Editio veteris condemnatio fit.* This was the general voice againſt the new Tranſlation; and S. *Hierom* liked it the worſe, becauſe it was taken up againſt him by his great Adverſary *Ruffinus* in his ſecond Invective, *Septuaginta duorum virorum per Cellulas interpretantium, unam & Conſonam vocem dubitandum non eſt Spiritus Sancti inſpiratione prolatam, & majoris id debere eſſe autoritatis quàm id quod ab uno hoc, ſibi Barrabba aſſirante, tranſlatum eſt*: 'Tis no doubt (ſaith he) but that one concording voice of the ſeventy Seniors in their *Cells* was uttered by divine inſpiration, and therefore I hope is to be preferred before the Tranſlation of one man, who had no other inſtruction but from his Tutor *Barrabbas*.

Ruffin. in Hierom. p. 181. col. 1. tom 9.

The new Tranſlation ſucceeding ſo ill, S. *Hierom* had this to do, to give ſatisfaction to the men of his time, and by all means to be quit with his Antagoniſt.

Conſidering therefore that the complaint of all men was unadviſedly grounded upon too great an eſtimation of the *Septuagint*, which every man urged to himſelf from the miraculous manner of the Interpretation, the Father conceived that this prevailing Opinion might receive ſome abatement by a comely and well-tempered diſparagement of that wonder: therefore he gives out in one place, that this great ſound of the *Cells* was but a rumour of the Ordinary People, and not

not contented to ſay ſo, elſewhere he is bold to call it a fable; hoping by this, that if he could but take off the People from their opinion of the *Cells*, he might gain upon them for his own Tranſlation.

The purpoſe of S. *Hierom* is this, though we grant it to be good, yet we cannot think but the Project was bad; and therefore the Father herein is altogether forſaken by his great Friend St. *Auſtin*; who on the other ſide laboureth ſo much the more to ſet up the old Reputation of the Septuagint, which he hath not ſpared to do in the moſt prevailing ways, though he lived at the ſame time with S. *Hierom*, and was well acquainted with his Tenets, and loved any Opinion the better for being his. *Auſtin* therefore, in his eighth Epiſtle to S. *Hierom*, ſpeaking of the Septuagint, thus he profeſſeth, *De quorum vel conſilii, vel ſpiritus majori concordia, quàm ſi unus homo eſſet, non audeo in aliquam partem certam ferre ſententiam, niſi quod eis præeminentem Autoritatem in hoc munere ſine Controverſia tribuendam exiſtimo, &c.*

In his Commentary on the 87. *Pſalm*, he ſaith, Their Authority is ſuch, *ut non immeritò propter mirabilem conſenſum, divino Spiritu interpretati eſſe credantur, &c.* And whereas S. *Hierom* had put off this paſſage of the *Cells* with a *Neſcio quo Authore*, as if the Authors of it had been aſhamed to ſhew themſelves, *Auſtin* is not afraid to ſay, That thoſe which reported this were *multi, & non indigni fide*; many, and worthy to be believed: And if it be ſo (ſaith he) that the Tranſlation was made by ſeveral Men, in ſeveral *Cells*, and yet no Man diſcorded either in ſenſe or words; *Quis huic autoritati* (where he directly aimeth at S. *Hierom*) *conferre aliquid, nedum præferre audeat?* Who is he that ſhall dare, I will not ſay to prefer any thing above, but to confer any thing unto the Authority of this Tranſlation.

And becauſe S. *Hierom* hop'd it might follow as an abſurdity, that if the Work had been performed in the ſame manner by ſeveral Men, and in ſeveral Places, it was to be thought not a Tranſlation, but a Prophecy; S. *Auſtin* believeth it to be a very good Conſequence, and affirmeth, that it was therefore ſaid to be done Prophetically, becauſe

they concorded ſo wonderfully. *Qui Autoritate prophetica ex ipſa mirabili Conſenſione perhibentur.* *Quæſt. ſuper* Joſue, *lib.* 6.

And foraſmuch as S. *Hierom* had taken notice of divers differences between the *Hebrew* Text, and the *Greek* Tranſlation, S. *Auſtin* ſaith, That there is no reaſon why we ſhould think otherwiſe of theſe, than we do of that harmonious diſcord which is found to be among the four Evangeliſts; for as there the ſame Spirit guided each Mans Pen to mean, and yet not write the ſame; ſo here, the ſame Inſpiration which had formerly inſtructed the Original Writers, did now alſo direct the Tranſlators to ſet down the very ſame things, but in a different way.

Manifeſtum eſt autem Interpretationem illam quæ dicitur Septuaginta, in nonnullis ſe aliter habere, quàm inveniunt in Hebræo, qui eam linguam noverunt, & qui interpretati ſunt ſinguli eoſdem libros; hujus item diſtantiæ cauſa ſi quæratur, cur tanta Autoritas Interpretationis Lxx multis in locis diſſet ab ea veritate quæ in Hebræis Codicibus invenitur, nihil occurrere probabilius exiſtimo quàm illos Lxx, eo ſpiritu interpretatos, quo & illa quæ interpretabantur dicta fuerunt, quod ex ipſa eorum mirabili conſenſione firmatum eſt, &c. Ergò & ipſi nonnulla in eloquio narrando, & ab eadem voluntate Dei, cujus illa dicta erat, & cui verba ſervire debeant, non recedendo; nihil aliud demonſtrare voluerunt, quàm hoc ipſum, quod nunc in Evangeliſtarum 4. concordi quadam diverſitate miramur. Auguſt. de Conſenſ. Evangeliſt. Lib. 2. C. 66. fol. 105. Tom. 4.

Therefore in whatſoever the Authority of S. *Hierom* could prevail againſt our Story, it may be overborn by that which hath been ſaid; moſt of all, by the ponderous Teſtimony of S. *Auguſtine*.

We come now to conſider of his Reaſons, the later whereof bearing no notable force in it ſelf, may be paſſed by; but the former ſtandeth thus.

That there could be no ſuch miraculous Circumſtance in the Tranſlation, as this Paſſage of the *Cells*, becauſe then *Ariſtæus*, who undertook a particular Narration of this whole Matter, would not have omitted this, if he had known it; and he could not chuſe but know it, if it had been done, for he lived at the ſame time: and the Reaſon prevails yet further, becauſe *Joſephus*, relating this Hiſtory out of *Ariſtæus*, maketh no mention of any ſuch matter.

This Reaſon I was always afraid of: for beſides that it is the ſtronger for being given by S. *Hierom*, it hath alſo

ſuch

ſuch a proper validity in it ſelf, that if we ſhould not fairly decline it, it would injure the probability of all.

But the inconvenience that may ariſe by this Reaſon we ſufficiently avoid, if theſe three things can be brought to paſs. 1. That the Hiſtory of the Septuagint, which now goeth abroad under the Name of *Ariſtæas*, is not the intire Work of that *Ariſtæas* who lived in the days of *Ptolomy*. 2. That the true *Ariſtæas* had this paſſage of the *Cells*. 3. That *Joſephus* left it out, and the Reaſons why.

For the firſt, which concerneth *Ariſtæas*, That he is to be taken for a ſpurious Author, we are already prevented by the learned *Vives à Caſtro*, *Scaliger*, *Voſſius*, and others, who have all ſet down their Judgments againſt this Author; and thoſe that have ſpoken moſt moderately, have ſaid (that which is the very truth indeed) That the Compiler of this Work was much later than the days of the Tranſlation, and that the Story as now it is, was gathered together out of *Joſephus*, *Euſebius*, *Epiphanius*, and ſome others, which are not now at all, or not yet extant.

But becauſe the Credit of any Author, eſpecially thoſe that are Ancient, ought not to be diſparaged upon a ſlight or frivolous ground, the Cauſes ſhall be ſet down which have neceſſarily moved hereunto.

The principal Reaſon rendred by *Vives* and the reſt, is, For that ſome things are cited by the Fathers out of *Ariſtæas*, which are not to be found in the Story as now it ſtands: Inſtance is made in *Epiphanius* concerning the *Cells*, and in the Letters which paſs'd between *Ptolomy* and *Eleazar* the Prieſt, which are not delivered by the Fathers as they lie in the Story, but have a manifeſt variety, and ſuch as cannot eaſily be reconciled. This Reaſon is good, and maketh much againſt the Compiler, who would be called by the Name of *Ariſtæas*. But ſomething ſhall be added out of our own Obſervations.

The Author of the preſent Hiſtory ſaith, That *Demetrius* going along with the Seniors to the Iſle *Pharos*, went over τὸ ἑπτὰ σταδίων ἀνάχωμα τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὴν γέφυραν, *the Heptaſtadium and the Bridge*, &c. But this paſſage is manifeſt-

ly taken out of *Joſephus*, who though he undertake to ſet down the Story according to *Ariſtæas*, yet he doth not follow him κατὰ πόδας, through the whole file of his Narration; but oft times, and eſpecially where he would be brief, he taketh his own ways of expreſſion: Therefore when he cometh to tell how the Seniors were conducted by *Demetrius* from the City to the Iſle, he delivereth it under the Circumſtances of his own time, as if they had paſſed over the *Heptaſtadium* and the Bridge, becauſe that indeed was the way in his days, and as he thought in the days of *Ariſtæas*.

But if our Information be rightly given, we ſhall find this to be a notorious *Anachroniſm*; for at the days of the Tranſlation *Pharos* was an Iſle, and therefore they could not paſs over thither by Land.

Homer telleth, that in old time this Iſle *Pharos* lay a whole day and a nights ſail from *Alexandria*.

Τόσσον ἄνευθ' ὅσσον τε παρημείν γλαφυρὴ νηῦς
Ἠνυσεν, &c.

Euſtath παρεκβ. εἰς ὁδυσ. p. 1500. Edit. Rom. 1550.

And the Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica* ſaith upon this Place, that this was ſo κατὰ τὰς Ἡρωϊκὰς χρόνους, ὅτε ἀπογαιωθῆναι τῇ ἰλύϊ τὰ Νείλῳ, &c. *in the days of the Ancient Heroes, but ſince that time it hath been turned into Earth by the River* Nile. Such a property indeed the River hath, becauſe it continually draweth much mud; as is obſerved by *Ariſtotle*, *Eratoſthenes*, and many others: but that it ſhould do it in this proportion, it is altogether incredible.

For by the Judgment of the beſt and moſt skilful Mariners, a Ship uuder ſail, having Wind and Tide, may ride as far in the ſpace of one Hour, as ſhall anſwer 8000 Paces upon the Land, which multiplied into 24, make up 192000. Therefore the diſtance between the City and the Iſle muſt have been 192 Miles; and ſo much earth muſt have been gathered together by the Attractions of *Nile*, ſince the time of the *Trojan* Wars. But concerning this, *Ariſtides* ſaid well in his Deſcription of *Egypt*, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φάρον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος διαβήσιμον πλοῦν ἀπέχειν Ἀλεξανδρείας. *Homer*, ſaith he, *indeed writeth, that* Pharos *is as far from* Alexandria *as one can*

go

go by ſea in a day and a night: But ſaith *Ariſtides*, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω πιστεῦσαι, *I know not how I ſhould believe him.*

But while *Pharos* was an Iſle, the true diſtance between it and the City, as it hath been uſually and experimentally accounted, was about ſeven Furlongs; ἑπτὰ σταδίων, or nearer upon a Mile: This ſpace was in after-times wrought into an *Iſthmus*, by the bold Induſtry and Expences of *Cleopatra*, which from the meaſure of the diſtance was called *Heptaſtadium.*

This is moſt confidently reported by *Ammianus Marcellinus* in *Julian*, *l.*22. *p.*285. *Hæc eadem regina*, Heptaſtadium, *ſicut vix credendâ celeritate, ità magnitudine mirâ conſtruxit, ob Cauſam notam & neceſſariam. Inſula* Pharos, *&c. à civitatis litore mille paſſibus diſparata, Rhodiorum erat obnoxia vectigali, quod cùm indè quidam nimium quantum petituri veniſſent; fœmina callida ſemper in fraudes, ſolennium ſpecie feriarum, iiſdem publicanis ſecum ad ſuburbana perductis, opus juſſerat irrequietis laboribus conſummari, & ſeptem diebus totidem Stadia, molibus jactis in Mare, ſolo propinquanti terræ ſunt vindicatæ. Quò cum vehiculo ingreſſa, evrare ait Rhodios, Inſularum, non Continentis portorium flagitantes, &c.* that is, The ſame *Cleopatra* raiſed the *Heptaſtadium*, not more wonderful for its magnitude, than for the expedition of the buſineſs; and ſhe did it for a reaſon very neceſſary, and well enough known. The Iſle *Pharos*, which was about a Mile diſtant from the City, paid Tribute to the *Rhodians*, which being by them too intolerably exacted, the Politick Princeſs, always exquiſitely able to deceive, upon a time withdraws the Publicans into the Suburbs, as if there had been ſome great Holiday to be kept: In the mean time ſhe had ſet Men a work to caſt mighty heaps into the Sea, which being followed with indefatigable pains, ſeven Furlongs of Sea were made into Earth within the ſpace of ſeven days, and the City continued with the Iſle. This done, the Queen rode over in her Chariot, and told the Publicans, that they were much deceived to come and require Impoſt for the Iſle, for that was now become a Continent, *&c.* Whereas the Hiſtorian ſaith, the Iſle was tributary to the *Rhodians.*

Rhodians. The Reader must not be ignorant, that these people, by reason of their great experience in Navigation, were for a long time Lords over all the Seas, and in all Marine matters prescribed Rules to other Nations; insomuch, that the Imperial Law, in all Titles which concern the Sea, still goeth according to the Law of the *Rhodes*, unless it be where it is otherwise required by the unalterable Customs of particular Places. So saith *Docimus* in the Law,

Jus Græco-Rom. in Le. Naut. p.278. Τὰ ναυτικὰ πάντα, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ θάλασσαν κείνται, Ῥοδιοτέμονται νόμῳ, καὶ κατὰ τὰς Ῥοδίας διαζονται νόμους, ὅταν μὴ ἄλλῳ νόμῳ ἐναντίῳ τυγχάνῃ Ῥοδίων νόμοις ἐυείσκεται, &c.

And therefore it is, that when *Eudæmon* of *Nicomedia* made complaint to *Antoninus*, that in a Wreck upon the Coast of *Italy*, he had been robb'd by the Publicans that inhabited the *Cyclades*, the Emperor returned this answer,

Digest. De Leg. Rhod. de act. Ἀξίωσις. Ἐγὼ μὲν τῆς κόσμου κύριος, ὁ δὲ νόμος τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ νόμου τυγχάνει Ῥοδίων κείμενος· that is, *I indeed am Lord of the Land; but as for the Sea, it must be judged by the Law of the* Rhodes: *Title* 2. of the *Digest. cap.* 9. This by the way; but by that of *Ammianus Marcellinus* we are certainly informed concerning the time when *Pharos* first began to be a *Peninsula*.

Therefore if *Aristæus* make mention of the *Heptastadium*, he ought to live either in, or after the days of *Cleopatra*; but the true *Aristæus* was dead long before.

But *Benjamin Bar-Jona* is against us; for he reckoneth the making of this *Isthmus* among the Acts of *Alexander the Great*; ישם בנח מס לח על תנמל של אלכסנדריא ודד מיר בתוך היס that is, *And there* (Alexander) *raised up a Bank at the Haven of Alexandria, the space of one whole mile within the Sea*. But this cannot be; for then it shall never be pardon'd his Historians, *Plutarch*, *Q. Curtius*, and especially *Arrian*, who was *testis oculatus*, if striving in some things to make him greater than he could be, they should neglect in other things to make him so great as he was. All that ever yet undertook the mention of this Mighty Prince, have not spared to say as much as be believed; and do we think they would leave out that which ought to be? 'Twas enough for the renown of *Alexander*, which

מסעות שלר בנים p. 121.

which other Authors have ſaid concerning his *Non Ultra* in the Eaſt; and yet the *Arabick Geographer* aſcribeth alſo unto him the Pillars of *Hercules* in the Weſt, and ſaith moreover, That by the help of his *Mathematicians* he digged up an *Iſthmus*, and joyned two Seas together: See this Author in his firſt Part of his fourth Clime. Parte 1. Climat. 4.

That which is already recorded of this Mighty Conqueror, by Hiſtorians more commonly known, is as great a burden as Fame can bear; and yet I have ſeen two *Greek* unpubliſh'd Authors in the *Baroccian* Archives, that have gone beyond all that is yet extant, as if they would ſet down not how much *Alexander* could do, but how much 'twas poſſible for the Reader to believe; for ſo they have ſcrued up his Acts to a moſt prodigious and incredible height, that nothing more can be expected from the *Hiſtoria Lombardica*, or the moſt impudent *Legend*: and yet I find nothing at all ſaid of this *Agger*. Archivæ Barocc. Biblioth. Bod.

Juſtin hath ſaid much for *Alexander* out of *Trogus Pompey*, and much is ſet down by *Diodorus*; to ſay nothing of *Zeno Demetrius*, printed at *Venice* in Vulgar *Greek*, and a *French* Author not extant, both which have written the Life of *Alexander*, and that they might lie by Authority, they have done it in Verſe; and yet none of all theſe ever durſt to ſay, that this was any of his Acts, to joyn *Pharos* to *Alexandria*; nay, *Plutarch* in his Life of this *Alexander* ſaith, that *Pharos* was an Iſle in thoſe days, and very well intimateth, that the *Iſthmus* was congeſted in after times: Therefore if this would not be remembred, neither by thoſe that knew all that *Alexander* did, nor yet by others who durſt to write more than they knew, *Bar-Jona* is not to be regarded in this matter.

But *Joſeph Scaliger* troubleth us further; for he ſaith, that this *Iſthmus* was raiſed *per Superiores Ptolomæos*, by the former *Ptolomys*; and his Authority for this is out of *Julius Cæſar*, in the third Book of his Commentaries *De Bello Civili*, towards the later end of that Book, there *Cæſar* ſaith thus.

Hæc inſula objecta Alexandriæ portum efficit: ſed à ſuperioribus regionibus in longitudinem paſſuum 900. in mare jactis molibus,

molibus, anguſto itinere & ponte cum oppido conjungitur.

At the firſt reading of theſe words, I marvelled how *Scaliger* could pick out the thing which is pretended, ſeeing that here is no intimation to that purpoſe; but upon a further inquiry, I found in the Critical Notes upon this Place, that *Brodæus* would have it read, *A ſuperioribus Regibus*, and out of this *varia lectio*, *Scaliger* got his *Superiores Ptolomæos*.

Suppoſe we then, that the true way of reading ſhould be according to *Brodæus*, yet how will *Cæſar* be truſted for this, in whoſe judgment we all know that the Pailing up of an *Iſthmus* would be too great a Work for a Woman, in compariſon whereof, *Cæſar*'s Ditches and Trenches could bear no reputation? Therefore it concern'd the Dictator to darken the Glory of *Cleopatra*, for fear that ſhould eclipſe his own: therefore the Exploit is obſcurely ſuggeſted in terms of generality and ambiguity, that it was done *A ſuperioribus Regibus*, which whether it be to be underſtood of *Ptolomy Lagus*, and *Philadelph*, or of thoſe which ſucceeded, who can tell us? and if it be not, it maketh nothing againſt us. But why are we bound to read *Regibus*, ſeeing that in the moſt ancient and the correcteſt Copies we find it conſtantly written, *A ſuperioribus Regionibus?* and ſo it is to be referred to *in longitudinem paſſuum 900. à ſup. Region. &c.* or otherwiſe it may follow the force of the Conjunction [*ſed,*] which leadeth to another way of interpretation; and either of theſe ways ſeemeth fully to ſatisfie the Author's meaning, and affordeth a Conſtruction proper to the Place. So we ſee, that theſe words of *Cæſar* are not of force enough to overthrow the Teſtimony of *Ammianus Marcellinus*: therefore it holdeth ſtill, that *Pharos* remained an *Iſle* till the days of *Cleopatra*, and we are ſure that *Ariſtæas* was dead long before; therefore for him to make mention of the *Heptaſtadium*, is an inexcuſable *Anachroniſm*: and there needeth nothing more to prove the firſt thing which was required, That the Author of the preſent Hiſtory of the Seventy, cannot be that *Ariſtæas* who was to live in the days of *Ptolomy*. Now we are to prove, That the true *Ariſtæas* had this paſſage of the *Cells*: And this will

be

be eaſie to do, becauſe *Gedaliah* in his *Shalſhelet Hakabbala* (profeſſing to ſet down this Hiſtory of the *Seventy Interpreters* briefly out of *Ariſtæas*) toward the later end of his Abſtract uſeth theſe words, ובכל יום שאל מהם פתרו חדות ומשלים (רכתוב באורך בספרו) ובלס תשיבו כראוי וכרצון חמלך אשר תסה מאד מחמתם that is, *And every day the King asked them the Interpretation of ſome hard ſayings, and dark ſentences (which may be ſeen at large in this * Book) and they ſtill gave him ſuch an anſwer as was to the purpoſe, and well-pleaſing in his ſight; inſomuch that the King marvelled greatly, &c.* After this (ſaith he) they were conducted to a certain Iſland רחוק מאלכס נבריא ימיות *about a mile diſtant from Alexandria,* ונתני לכל אחד מהס חדר *and to each of them was appointed a ſeveral Conclave, &c.*

R. Gedaliah in Shalſhelet, fol. 23. & 24.

* Of *Ariſtæus* he meaneth.

We cannot imagine the Author to be ſo notoriouſly impudent, as to have cited this out of *Ariſtæus*, if it had not been there.

Therefore now if we give the reaſon why *Joſephus* ſhould leave it out, we have brought that to paſs which was required to be done.

Joſephus having had good experience of the Heathen, not onely by his converſation with their Books, but alſo with themſelves, made obſervation of that, whereof he himſelf afterward found cauſe to complain; that as they made little account of the Nation of the *Jews*, and their Religion, ſo they ſlighted their Antiquities, and misbelieved any thing that could be ſaid or written for their Renown. *Joſephus* being well aware of this, and deſirous by all means that his Work might find Acceptation with the *Gentiles*, took diligent heed to make the diſpoſition of his Hiſtory of ſuch a temper, as that nothing ſhould be propoſed ſo incredible, as not to bear ſome congruity with ſuch things which had been known to be before, and were like to be hereafter.

Therefore when he cometh to the miraculous paſſages of Holy Writ, he uſeth a fair way of diſſimulation, ſtill moderating the wonder of a Work, that he may bring it down to the Heathens Faith, and make it fit for ordinary belief.

The Reader shall willingly believe this, after experience made in an Instance or two.

When *Josephus* comes to tell of *Israels* departure out of *Egypt*, and how they passed through the midst of the Sea upon dry Land, he relateth the Story *bonâ fide*, but withal superaddeth thereunto a most unwarrantable Extenuation. His fear was, lest the Gentiles would think much to believe, that the unruly waves of the Sea should not onely stay, but also give back at the shaking of a Rod, and the voice of a Man. And this would be the rather doubted of by the Heathen, because notice had been already given unto them by *Artapan*, That howsoever the *Heliopolites* in *Egypt* reported concerning this matter, not much otherwise than *Moses* himself had done; yet the Tradition of the *Memphites* was, ἐμπειρον ὄντα τὸν Μωϋσον τῆς χώρας, τὸν ἄμπωτιν πρόσαντα, διὰ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλῆθος περιῶσαι, that is, *That* Moses *being well acquainted with the conditions of the Place, observed the Reflux of the Waters, and so brought over his Troops by dry Land.*

Therefore *Josephus*, that he might make this easie to be believed, maketh it equal to that which no body doubteth of; perswading the Reader, that this was all one with that passage of *Alexander the Great*, and his Company, through the *Pamphylian* Sea.

Ἀρχαιολ. Λογ. β. κεφ. ζ.

Θαυμάσει δ μηδεὶς τῦ λόγυ τὸ πεπραγμένον, εἰ ἀρχαίοις ἀνθρώποις, καὶ πονηρίας ἀπείροις, εὑρέθη σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν θεῦ, εἴτε κατ' αὐτόματον· ὅποτε καὶ πρὸ τῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Μακεδονίας χθὲς καὶ πρώην γεγονότα, ὑποχάρηναι τὸ Παμφύλιον πέλαγος, καὶ ὁδὸν ἄλλην ὐκ ἔχοντι παρεῖναι τινὶ δι' ὑπῆς καταλύσαι τινὶ Πέρσων ἡγεμονίαν, τῦ θεῦ βεληθέντος, &c.

Whether (saith he) *the thing were done by the Council of God, or that the Sea should do it of its own accord, no man ought so to wonder, as if it were a thing unheard of, that the Sea it self should make way for the men of those old and innocent times, when as but the other day, as it were, the Pamphylian Ocean gave way to Great* Alexander *King of* Macedon, *and his Followers: and when they had no other Road to pass by, the Waves them-*

themſelves mark'd them out a path, rather than any thing ſhould hinder the deſign which God had purpoſed them unto; and that was to put a period to the Kingdom of Perſia.

But let us ſee how theſe two Matters differ in their Moments, and how unlike the paſſing of *Alexander* is to that of *Iſrael*.

Strabo can tell us the truth:

Περὶ Φασηλίδα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ καλούμενον στενὸν, δι' οὗ Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν, ἔστι δ' ὄρος Κλίμαξ καλούμενον, ὑπεῖκον μὲν τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ πολὺν τινὰ τὸν ἐπιπλουν παρεχόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῖς μὴ χειμερίοις χωρεῦσι, ὅστε δὴ βαδίσαι τοὺς ὁδοιπόρους πλημμυρούσης δὲ τῆς πολλάκις ἐπὶ πολὺ· ἡ μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἐπίβασις, ὀχληρὰν ἔχει τὴν περιπάτησιν ὅτι, τῷ δὲ αἰγιαλῷ χωροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς χειμέριον ἐμπεσὼν καιρὸν, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἐπιβήσεσθαι τῇ πλάτῃ, νεῖν αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγκάσαι, μέχρι ὀμφαλοῦ βαθυζωνοῦντας: that is, *About* Phaſelis *there is a Streight of the Sea, where* Alexander *paſſed over with his Company: for the Hill* Climax *lying upon the* Pamphylian *Seas, leaveth a narrow Paſſage upon the Shore, which at a low Ebb is ſo dry, that it may be paſſed over on foot; but at the flowing of the Waters, it uſeth to be covered all over with the Waves. Now becauſe the way of the Mountain is round about, and precipitate, Travellers, for the moſt part, take this way by the Shore, if the Sea be calm; and it was* Alexander's *hap to come that way in the Winter Seaſon, who committing moſt of his acts to Fortune, ſet forward before the Waters were gone off, ſo that he and his Followers were fain to wade all day long in the Sea up to the middle, &c.* Strabo l. 14. p. 666. & 667.

The Reader may here ſee whether *Joſephus* have not deſtroyed the Miracle, by leſſening it; and made it ceaſe to be a Wonder, while he ſtrives to make it fit to be believed.

The ſame Author, when he ſhould tell us how the Sun ſtood ſtill in *Gibeon*, and the Moon in the Valley of *Ajalon*, he talketh of a great Thunder and Lightning, and of ſtrange Hail, which is ſomething more too than what the Scripture ſaith: but to the purpoſe nothing is ſaid, ſave onely, that the day was longer than it uſed to be;

ὅτι γε καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμέραν αὐξηθῆναι πλέον, &c. Ἀρχαιολόγ. Λογ. ι. Κεφ. α. pag. 123.

For the Days to lengthen, was an ordinary thing to those who lived between the *Tropick* of *Cancer* and the *Artick Circle*: and for the same Day to be longer than ever it had been, would not be so incredible to the Heathen, because they had already heard of one Night as big as three; for such a thing as this had hapned, when *Jupiter* begat *Hercules* of *Alcmena*: and this was told them long before the time of *Josephus*, by their divine *Orpheus*, in his *Argonauticks*.

——ὅτε τειαῖος μὲν ἐλείπετο σώεος αἴγλω
Ἠέλιος, δολιχὴ δ' ἐπεμαίετο πάντοθεν Ὄρφ.

When *Hercules* was born (saith he)

Three days the Sun, leaving his wonted Light,
Lay hid, and made of three, but one long Night.

Again, *Josephus* when he is to set down how the King *Nabuchodonosor* was changed into a Beast, he scarcely obtaineth of himself at first to call it any thing but a Dream; and afterwards, when he speaketh of it as of a thing done, he saith no more but this, That the King lived seven years κατ' ἰσημίας, *privately*; as if to dine and sup alone, had been to *eat Grass like Oxen*; and to be from the society of Men, had been all one with being turned into the condition of a Beast. Not that we believe that the King of *Babel* was transformed into a Brute, though the literal sense of the Text seem to lead us on to such a Metamorphosis, but that, to bear the mind of a Beast under the shape of a Man, was more than to keep ones Chamber, and to depart from ones own self, argued somewhat else than κατ' ἰσημίας ἦν, *to be private*. Aud yet *Josephus* says no more; nay, he craves pardon for this, as if it had been too much to say, that such a thing could be done in a Dream. Ἐσκαλόπτω δ' ἐμοὶ μηδεὶς ὅτι ταῦτα ἔθηκα, &c. *No man* (saith he) *I hope, will blame me for this; for I have set these things down as I found them in Ancient Writings*: Shewing hereby, that his care was not so much that things might appear done in themselves, as that they were truly related by him.

Dan. 4. 25.

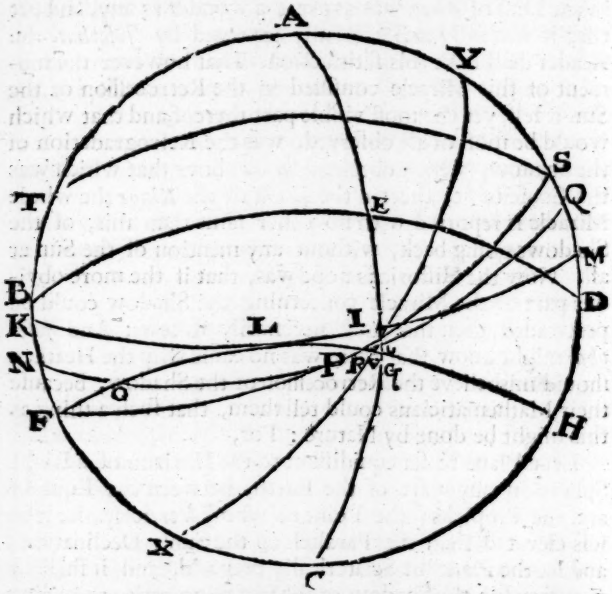
Ἀρχαιολόγ. λογ. ι. κεφ. ι α. lib. 10. cap. 11. p. 311. & 312.

If

If it be ſaid that the Retroceſſion of the Sun and Shadow in the Dial of *Ahaz* was as great a wonder as any, and yet that it was fully and faithfully reported by *Joſephus*, the Reader ſhall have this ſatisfaction, That however the moment of this Miracle conſiſted in the Retroceſſion of the Sun it ſelf, yet the moſt viſible part thereof, and that which would be moſt of all obſerved, was the Retrogradation of the Shadow, which obtained ſo far above that which was the Cauſe of it, that in the Book of the *Kings* the whole Miracle is reported with no other fame than this, of the Shadows going back, without any mention of the Sun at all. Now the Hiſtorians hope was, that if the more obvious part of the Miracle concerning the Shadow could be perſwaded, then that muſt neceſſarily follow: And *Joſephus* might know, that there was no cauſe why the Heathen ſhould misbelieve the Retroceſſion of the Shadow, becauſe their Mathematicians could tell them, that ſuch a thing as this might be done by Nature: For,

Let a Plane be ſet equidiſtant to the Horizon of a Right Sphere in any part of the Earth, between the Equator and the Tropicks; the Point of whoſe Verticity, let it be leſs elevated than the Parallel of the Sun's Declination; and let the Plane be Sciatérically prepar'd, and it ſhall be neceſſary for the Shadow of the Sun to go back, according to the Rules of that Art, *&c.*

Let



Let A B C D be the Horizon, A E C the Meridian, B the Eaſt Point, and D the Weſt. Let B E D be the Equator, cutting the Meridian in E. Let F G H be for the North Parallel of the Sun, cutting the Meridian in G. Let the Semith of the Place, ſuppoſed to be between the Equator and the ſaid Parallel, be the Point I, by which draw a Vertical Circle K L I M, touching the Parallel F G H in L; and another, N O P I Q, cutting the ſame Parallel F G H in the Point O, between L the Point of Contingency, and F the Point where the Sun ſhall begin to riſe when he entreth into the Parallel F G H; and again in the Point P, between L the ſaid Point of Contingency, and the Point G in the Meridian: and draw yet another Vertical F R I S, by F the Point of the Sun's riſing, and therefore cutting the Parallel F G H in R, between the Points P and G.

Now

Now becauſe the Sun being in any Great Circle of the Sphere, the Shadow of any Style erected upon a Plane, at Right Angles, is neceſſarily projected upon the Common Section of the Plane of the Circle and the Style.

Therefore the Sun being in the Vertical Circle F R I S, and in the Point of his Riſing F, the ſhadow of a Style perpendicularly erected upon the Horizon of ſuch a Place, whoſe Semith Point ſhall be in I, cannot recede from the Plane of that Vertical F R I S, but ſhall cut the Weſtern Semicircle of the Horizon in S, at the ſame Place where the Parallel T S, oppoſite to the Parallel of the Sun, cutteth the Horizon; ſo that the diſtance of the Shadow in the Horizon, from the Meridian Southward, ſhall be the Arch A S. Again, the Sun being elevated above the Horizon, and placed in O, cometh to the Vertical N O P I Q, and then the Shadow of the ſaid Style ſhall cut the Horizon in Q, and the diſtance from the Meridian will be the Arch A Q, greater than A S; But when the Sun ſhall come to L, the Point of Contingency, and ſo be in the Vertical K L I M, then the Shadow of the Style ſhall cut the Horizon in M, and the diſtance of the Shadow from the Meridian will be the Arch A M, greater than A Q, and the greateſt which the Shadow can have that day.

Therefore from the time of the Sun's being in F the Point of his Riſing, till he came to L the Point of Contingency, the Shadow of the Style went ſtill forward from S by Q to M.

Afterwards the Sun moving from L to P, ſhall be again in the Vertical N O P I Q, and the Shadow of the Style ſhall again cut the Horizon in Q, and the diſtance of the Shadow from the Meridian ſhall again be the Arch A Q, as before when the Sun was in the Point O. Therefore the Shadow is gone back in the Horizon from the Point M to Q nearer to the Meridian. Again, the Sun moving from P to R, ſhall be again in the Vertical F R I S; and the Shadow of the Style ſhall cut the Horizon in S, and the diſtance thereof from the Meridian ſhall be the Arch A S, as before when the Sun was in F, the Point of his Riſing.

There-

Therefore the Shadow is gone back alſo from M by Q to S. Therefore in any part of the Torrid Zone, where the Elevation of the Pole is leſs than the Declination of the Sun, the Shadow of a Style perpendicularly erected upon a Plane, may have a natural viſible Retroceſſion, which was required to be done.

But *Peter Novius*, however he acknowledgeth that the Retrogradation of the Shadow is according to Nature in the Caſe propoſed; yet in the matter of *Hezekiah*, he underſtandeth it to be miraculous; and he maketh the Miracle to conſiſt in this, That it was not done as the Propoſition requireth, within, but without the Tropicks, between that of *Cancer* and the *Artick Circle*, ; for in ſuch a Poſition of Sphere the Dial of *Ahaz* was placed.

But Learned *Clavius* (whoſe way of demonſtration we follow) maketh it plainly to appear, that the ſame thing may be done as well in the one Place as the other; And it muſt needs be ſo; for in our own Elevation here at *Oxford* (which lieth in the ſame Poſition of Sphere, though not under the ſame Latitude with theirs at *Jeruſalem*) a Plane may be fitted for ſuch a Polar Altitude as ſhall be leſs than twenty three Degrees and an half; and then it will have the ſame ſite in reſpect of the Sun, as if it were placed between the Tropicks: and ſo the Retroceſſion of the Shadow muſt be natural, as before.

Therefore it muſt be ſaid againſt *Peter Novius*, that the Miracle was not in the going back of the Shadow onely, but the Sun; for ſo it is ſet down by *Iſaiah* the Prophet.

And whereas it was ſet down in the beginning, that the moſt viſible part of the Miracle was the Retroceſſion of the Shadow; that ſhall here be proved, becauſe to the ſtrength of our Obſervation it is required that this ſhould be.

The moſt received Opinion concerning the Degree in the Dial of *Ahaz*, is, That they ſhould be meant of Hours; ſo indeed the *Targum* rendreth שעה and at the firſt view it ſeemeth moſt reaſonable. According to this, the Sun went backwards ten hours; therefore he had gone forwards 150 Degrees of the Equinoctial Line (for he is to go every hour

hour fifteen) therefore alſo he had yet to go 30 Degrees, which is the Complement of 180, the Semicircle of the day.

The time then of the Miracle was within two hours of Night; and the Retroceſſion of the Sun it ſelf was as viſible as that of the Shadow; for he had gone back above three parts of the Hemiſphere.

But this could not be: For the Prophet ask'd the King whether he would have the Sun go ten Degrees forward, or ten Degrees backward: But if Degrees be taken for Hours, would he ask him whether he would have the Sun go ten Hours forward, when there was but two to go? For the Sun was then Occidental, 60 Degrees paſt the Meridian, and within two Hours was to leave that Horizon: So that if the King had required, that the Shadow ſhould have gone ten Degrees forward, the Prophet muſt have gone back from his word; for that which was promiſed, was more then could be done.

Therefore it ſeemeth, that the Degrees in the Dial of *Ahaz* are to be underſtood of thoſe in Heaven, where they are moſt properly and primarily ſo called. Therefore the Sun, together with the whole frame of the ſuperior World, went ſo far backward in the Diurnal Motion, as made up the ſpace of ten Degrees in the Equinoctial Line, which anſwered to two third parts of an Hour in the Dial of *Ahaz*.

Therefore the Retroceſſion of the Shadow was much more viſible than that of the Sun: For we all know that the ſpace which the Sun goeth in half an Hours time and a little more, is better noted in the Dial, than in the Heavens: For, by reaſon of the great diſtance of the Sun's Eccentrick from the Surface of the Earth, the Angle of Viſion is ſo Acute, that it cannot transfer a perceivable ſpecies of ſo rapt a Motion. And as it cannot be perceived in the going, ſo neither would it eaſily be obſerved when it was gone: for an Arch of ten Degrees in ſo vaſt an Orb as that of the Sun, would never be diſtinguiſh'd by thoſe that ſtand here below, unleſs it were Geometrically obſerved by a Quadrant or Aſtrolabe; the knowledge and practice

whereof, I think, was not ſo common in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. Therefore though the main Condition of this Miracle was, That the Sun it ſelf ſhould go back; yet that which was moſt apparent, was the Retroceſſion of the Shadow: And becauſe *Joſephus* knew, that this would be accepted among the Gentiles, as a matter not without Nature's compaſs, he ventured, upon this encouragement, to ſet down the whole Wonder: For it was not his deſire purpoſely to ſmother any thing that was Miraculous; but onely ſo to qualifie the Paradoxal part of things, that they might paſs among the Heathen without ſcorn and deriſion: Therefore in all Places where there could be any pretence, he uſeth no diſſimulation. So in the Hiſtory of *Balaam*, he durſt to ſay, That a dumb Aſs forbad the madneſs of the Prophet: 'Twas ſtrange indeed that an Aſs ſhould ſpeak; but why not an Aſs, as well as an Ox? which had often hapned in the *Roman* State; and once above all the reſt *Livy* reporteth, That to the great terror of the Conſul *Domitius*, an Ox uttered theſe words, *Roma cave tibi.*

Livius lib. 35.

And thus *Joſephus* would have been content to do the reſt, if there could have been the like reaſon; but being deſirous to train up the Heathen by Probabilities to a good conceit of his Nation, and thoſe things which were written of them, he muſt not lay too great a task upon their belief; and therefore ſtill when his Hiſtory leads him to the Narration of a ſtrange thing, he always tempers the Diſcourſe with a convenient mixture of Poſſibilities; and howſoever it ſometimes endangers the main matter, yet we ſhall ſeldom find him reporting a Wonder ſincerely; but having warily taken off that which could ſeem incredible, he propoſeth the Action under ſuch eaſie Circumſtances as ſhall make it concord with Humane Reaſon, and Common Apprehenſion.

By this time the Reader may know the Reaſon why *Joſephus*, when he is to relate the Hiſtory of the Seventy out of *Ariſteus*, willingly omitteth this Paſſage of the *Cells*, becauſe it was like to ſound very incredibly in the Heathens ears, that a Book ſhould be ſo prodigiouſly tranſlated; that three-

threescore and twelve *Jews* should be shut up in so many several *Cells*, and after so many days each man should bring out the same Interpretation: the same, not onely in the sense and notion; but the same also for Order, and manner of Expression; and which was more, the very same Word for Word. Therefore he that readeth *Josephus* shall plainly perceive, that when he cometh to this Circumstance, he leaveth it quite out, and in stead thereof saith no more but this, That the Seniors made ἑρμηνείαν ἀκριβῆ, *a most accurate Translation*; and that they did it, ἐν ἡμέραις ἑβδομήκοντα δυσί, *in seventy and two days, &c.*

Ἰωσηπὲς τῆς Ἀρχαιολογ. ιβ. Κεφ. β. p. 354.

Nevertheless, the Compiler of that *Aristæas* which is now extant, when he had brought the Story thus far on, considering with himself, that this matter of the *Cells* was a remarkable Circumstance of the Translation, and strongly urged by *Justin Martyr*, he resolved with himself, that he would by no means leave it altogether untouch'd; and yet because he could find no such thing in *Josephus*, (whom he especially followed) he durst not set it down plainly and expresly; but instead of that which should have been, he leaveth the Reader thus in doubt; Οἱ δὲ ἑπτάλυχνα ἔφασα σύμφωνα ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτὲς, ταῖς αὐτολαῖς; τὸ δὲ ὅλον τῆς συμφωνίας γινόμενον * περιττὸν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅπως ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τῷ Δημητρίῳ. And these Words, howsoever they may bear a very natural sense against the Miracle of the *Cells*, yet it would not much wrong their propriety, if they should be rendred in this manner; *Illi verò singula eodem modo Interpretabantur, apud se conferendo (codices Hebræos cum suis versionibus) &c.* And if this meaning of the Words might go free without contradiction, *Aristæas* also may be cited for the *Cells*, as *A. Castro* hath laboured to bring it about: But this we seek not after, onely that there may seem to be some ambiguity; and the more, because *Azarias* the *Idumæan*, who translated this *Aristæas* which is now extant into *Hebrew*, when he cometh to this Passage, understandeth it in favour of the *Cells*, and hath given up his Interpretation accordingly: for in stead of those words of *Aristæas*, Οἱ δὲ ἑπτάλυχνα ἔφασα, &c. he hath left us as followeth.

* γρ. περιττὸν τῆς.

וחגה חמה חתאורי חיל ושמרו אריז חסדר הזה כי כהי איש מחס לברו חיוח מעתיק כל חלק ממנח ואחרכן חיו מביונים כל חחעתקות וחדו וחנוסח היותר נאות ומקיבל אריי חכל חוא לברו יוב אריי ספר על יד חאיש חלזח דימיטריאו *Et ecce hi accinxerunt se pro virili, & modum hunc observârunt; utique unusquisque ex eis seorsim, transtulit singulas ejusdem (sc. legis) partes, deinceps contulerunt inter se omnes translationes, &c.*

By all this we come to know the Place where, and the Manner how, the Holy Scriptures were translated by the Seventy Seniors: That the Performance hereof was a matter of Wonder and Admiration; for they were all separated at the doing of it, and yet all concorded when it was done: That we are directed to believe this by the most warrantable Testimonies of the Ancients: That it is agreed upon by the *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Hebrews*, and *Arabians*: That besides this Authority, there is good Reason for it: That there is no Authority or Reason against it, but that of S. *Hierom*'s; and that this is brought to a Nullity.

FINIS.

A DISCOURSE

Declaring what Time the

Nicene Creed

Began to be Sung in the

CHURCH.

BY

JOHN GREGORIE,

Master of Arts of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon.*

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Clark* for *T. Williams*, and are to be sold at the *Bible* in *Little Britain*. 1671.

A

DISCOURSE

Declaring what Time the

Nicene Creed

Began to be Sung in the

CHURCH.

BY

JOHN GREGORIE,

Master of Arts of Christ-Church in Oxon.

LONDON,

Printed by A. Clark for T. Williams, and are to
be Sold at the Bible in Little Britain. 1672.

A

DISCOURSE

Declaring what Time the

Nicene Creed

Began to be Sung in the

CHURCH.

QUEST.

What Time the* Nicene Creed *began to be Sung in the Church?

BEfore any thing can be directly ſaid to this, we muſt firſt look a little aſide upon the Beginnings and Improvements of Church-Muſick: In the recollection whereof, not to go ſo far back as *David*'s Chief Muſicians; or the Father of them that play upon the Harp and Organ, it is certain, that the *Jews* had a ſet ſolemn Way of Muſical Service; but how to be compar'd unto, or drawn up to any correſpondency with our Ways, I know there is one hath undertaken, but doubt (and more than ſo too) whether any Man is able to perform.

As the matter ſtands within the Compaſs of Eccleſiaſtical Time, properly ſo called, the Apoſtolical it ſelf was not without

without ſuch a proportion of that Ceremony as the Infancy and Cradle of the Church could afford; *Carmen Chriſto quaſi Deo canere ſolitos, &c.* That they were wont to ſing an Hymn to Chriſt at their Congregations, it ſeemeth by the Junior *Pliny* to *Trajan*: But their Muſick about that time was *non clamans, ſed amans*; it had more of the Devotion than the Voice: ſent up with heart enough; but for the Harmony, much after the rate of their other Accommodations; from the ſimplicity whereof, as unequal Time took off, ſo it added to the grace and glory of it. The Church-Muſick had theſe degrees to riſe by: The firſt and rude Performance was done *Plano Cantu*, by Plain Song, as the Pſalms are moſt ordinarily read in Cathedrals, or, at the beſt, but as they uſe to be ſung in Parochial Churches, where though ſometimes the noiſe may ſeem to pretend to a daſh and ſprinkling of Art, 'tis moſt commonly (and 'tis well if it be no worſe) but all in the ſame Time and Tune. From Plain Song they got up to Diſcant; and firſt of all to *Contrapunctum ſimplex*, a ſimple kind of Counterpoint, and then Muſick was in Parts; they ſung not all the ſame Tune, but by way of Conſonancy; yet ſo as the Muſick anſwered Note for Note: as if there ſtood a Minim or Sembrief in the upper part, there ſtood another againſt it in the lower and inner parts: ſo that this Muſick needed no Bars.

To this the rare, but intemperate Invention of the Maſters hath added the *Contrapunctum figuratum*, conſiſting of Feuges, or maintaining of Points, alteration of the Keys, *&c.*

But this laſt Acceſſion came eſpecially in with the Organ: of the Antiquity whereof, ſomething alſo is to be ſaid.

And here we muſt not think that the Organs in the Old Teſtament were any ſuch things, as thoſe which we call ſo now. We read it in *Job*, chap. 30. verſ. 31. *and my Organ into the voice of them that weep.* The *Syriack* rendreth it, *my Pſaltery*, clean another Inſtrument of a Triangular form, as you may ſee by the Deſcription of *Merſenius*. The *Hebrew* Word in *Job* is *Hugab*, which the *Chaldee* ſtill turneth *Abuba*: Now *Abub* ſignifieth properly *an Ear of Corn* with the

Marin. Merſen. De Inſtrum. Harm. lib. 10. prop. 44.

the Stalk or Straw: By Tranſlation it ſignifieth a Pipe made of ſuch a Reed or Stalk, *fiſtula ex novarum frugum calamo confecta.* The Word is *Arabick* too, and there it is pronounced *Anbuba*, from whence the *Latin*, *Ambubaja*, betraying it ſelf by the ſound to be none of the *Roman* race. And the *Hebrew* Organ may be otherwiſe of Braſs or Iron, as *Maimon* to that Place in *Erchin* of the *Talmud*, C. 2. §. 3. And therefore *Jubal* taught no body to play upon any ſuch *Organs* as ours. *David*'s *Organ* was but a kind of Pipe, what kind ſoever it was. Ambubajarum Collegia, *Hor.*

Our *Organs* are of a later and another manner of Invention.

Navar in his Book *De Oration. & Hor. Canon* ſaith, and ſaith it again, That the Uſe of *Organs* was not received in *Thomas Aquinas* his time. This Doctor was born in the year 1221. But our Author *De Scriptoribb. &c.* as *Mantuan* alſo, attribute the bringing in of *Organs* to the Pope *Vitalian.* Then it muſt be about the Year 660. But to make ſhort, The *Organ* is not of the Weſtern, but the Eaſtern Inſtitution. *Aymon* ſaith, That the firſt *Organ* they had in *France* was made *more Græcorum*, by one *cui nomen erat Georgius, Imperante Ludovico Pio, ejuſque ſumptibus. Lewes the Godly* began his Reign in the Year 813. *Mich. Glycas* and *Conſt. Manaſſes* yield the Invention to *Theophilus* his time, a *Greek* Emperor of the Year 830. but *Marianus Scotus*, *Martin Polonus*, *Platina*, the *Annals* of *France*, *Aventine*, and the *Pontifical* it ſelf, all agree, That the firſt *Organ* that ever was ſeen in the Weſt, was ſent over into *France* to King *Pipin*, from the *Greek* Emperor *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, about the Year 766. *Res adhuc Germanis & Gallis incognita* (ſaith *Aventine*) *Inſtrumentum Muſicæ maximum, Organum appellant, cicutis ex albo plumbo compactum eſt, ſimul & follibus inflatur, & manuum pedúmque digitis pulſatur, &c.* And ſo we have the Antiquity of *Organs* in the Weſt! But in the Eaſt they cannot be leſs ancient than the *Nicene* Council it ſelf, as appeareth by the Emperor *Julian*'s Epigram upon the Inſtrument. Balæus. De Geſt. Francor. l. 4. c. 113. Annales Bojorum, l. 3. f. 300.

Εἰς Ὄργανον
Ἀλλοίην ἐόῃσι &c.

Martin. Morentinus in Præfat. ad Miſopogon. ubi de vita & Script. Juliani.

Quam cerno alterius naturæ eſt fiſtula, nempe
Altera produxit fortaſſe hæc ænea tellus;
Horrendum ſtridet, nec noſtris illa movetur
Flatibus, & miſſus taurino è carcere ventus
Subtus agit leves calamos, pérque ima vagatur;
Mox aliquis velox digitis inſignis & arte
Adſtat, concordes calamis pulſátque tabellas,
Aſt illæ ſubitò exiliunt, & Carmina miſcent.

And now it may be thought that the Antiquity of the *Organ* is brought far enough back. 'Tis true, for the Inſtrument; but for the Church uſe, I am in doubt. *Zonaras* telleth us of an *Organ* ſet up by one of the *Greek* Emperors, ὂν χρυσῦ ἅπαντα ὀργασθέντα, all of pure gold; But what? εἰς κόσμον ὄντα τῆς βασιλείας, ἔκπληξιν δὲ ἐμποιοῦντα τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν. not to put the Church in Tune, but to caſt a glory upon the Court, and draw Foreign Admiration upon the Emperor.

Zonar. Tom. 3. Annal. in Michaele Imperator. p. 127.

I had occaſion to ſhew an *Armenian* Prieſt the Chappel here, and perceiving him to caſt his Eye upon the *Organ*, I asked, Whether there were any ſuch ſight to be ſeen in their Churches? He anſwered, No ſuch matter; neither did he know, till it was told him, what to call them: and yet this man had lived fourteen years under two Patriarchs, *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria*.

But more than this: In the *Greek Liturgies* I meet with Muſick enough, and more indeed than I can tell what to ſay to; but not ſo much as the mention of an *Organ* in all their Books. The old *Greek-Latin* Gloſs ſetteth down Ὀργανάριος, *Organarius*: but that will make nothing to the matter; an Organiſt there muſt be, where the Inſtrument it ſelf was: but whether that were in the Church, or onely in the Emperors Courts, is the doubt. And for the preſent time, it is as good as taken for granted, that there is not an Organ to be ſeen in any Church of the Eaſtern World.

Bruſchius de Monaſter. German. fol. 107.

In the Weſt indeed the *Greek* Example is very magnificently out-done: *Bruſchius* reporteth of an *Organ* ſet up in a Minſter of *Germany*, by the Abbat of the Convent there,

cujus

cujus maxima & medioxima fiſtula habuerit in longitudine pedes 28, *in circumferentia ſpithamas* 4; the *Diapaſon* whereof was 28 Foot in length, and the Compaſs about proportionable: We have never an *Organ* hereabouts of that pitch.

But how anciently ſuch things have been done, even in this part of the World, is hard to judge. The Words of *Thomas Aquinas* imply no leſs, than that there was no Eccleſiaſtical uſe of *Organs* in his time: however it was not long after, before they got into the Church; for *Durand* maketh mention of them, as of things received before his time. *Rational. lib.*4.*cap.*34. *lib.*5.*cap.*2. His time was about 1280. *&c.*

Eccleſia noſtra non aſſumit inſtrumenta muſica, ſicut Citharas & Pſalteria in divinas laudes nè videatur Judaizare 2a. 2æ. Qu. 91. Art. 2.

§. Note one thing more, That the moſt ancient and original Form of Chriſtian Liturgy, is the Order of Baptiſm. It muſt be ſo in reaſon: And from thence the main Parts of all Common Prayers are tranſlated; the Creeds eſpecially: for thoſe, and the *Pater noſter*, were the firſt Rudiments of the *Catechumeni*, and gave beginning to all Divine Service.

And if a Caſe ſhould lie againſt the *Athanaſian*, I hold the ground to be good from hence, that it was not properly put into the Liturgy, becauſe it was not yet received into any Order of Baptiſm.

The *Creed* in uſe, before the Fathers met at *Nice*, muſt needs be that which is called Apoſtolical; for they had no other: But ſince the Council, the *Nicene* Form was generally received into all Orders of Baptiſm in the other Church, as the *Greek*, *Syriack*, *Ethiopick*, *Armenian*, and *Coptick* Orders: But the Rubrick in all is as in the *Syriack*, *Haiden amar*; not, *Then the Prieſt ſhall ſing*; but, *Tum dicit Sacerdos*, *Credo in unum Deum*, *&c.* In the *Latin* Church indeed, ſometimes the *Symbolum Conſtantinopolitanum* was repeated, but moſt commonly the *Nicene*: And all the *Roman* Tradition faſtneth the Inſtitution thereof upon the times of Pope *Mark*, which was about the Year 366, and immediately ſucceeding upon the Council it ſelf. And for the manner of Recitation, *Berno* ſaith, *Ille enim ob Arrianorum Hæreſin Symbolum Nicenum in Miſſa decantari ordinavit*,

ordinavit, &c. Another ſaith, That he ordained it ſhould be done *Altâ voce*: And the ſame Father ſaith, That by a Canon of the third Council of *Toledo*, it was ordered concerning the *Creed*, That it ſhould be *paſſim clarâ voce decantatum, ſecundùm formam Eccleſiarum Orientalium.*

Now out of all this to frame an Anſwer to the Queſtion. By all the Orders of Baptiſm, the *Catechumenus* was firſt to make his Abrenunciation, to renounce the Devil and all his Works: And this he did with his face turned towards the Weſt. That done, he was to turn himſelf towards the Eaſt, and make profeſſion of his Faith, in the Words of the *Nicene* Form (ſince the Council.) But which is principally to be noted (as to this buſineſs) all this was to be done *Altâ voce*. The Church, as it received the Form from the Order of Baptiſm, ſo it retained the Poſture of Converſion (towards the Eaſt) and Manner of Pronunciation.

So much therefore is certain, That the *Nicene Creed* (or what Form ſoever) was always recited in a different Tone, a louder Voice at the leaſt: but becauſe the Canon maketh mention of *Decantari*, and that this was to be done *ſecundùm formam Eccleſiarum Orientalium*, two things will be granted upon this: One is, That there was a kind of Modulation in the Pronouncing of the *Creed*: Another is, That this was not *Roman* in the Original, but from Eaſtern Example. The Sum of both is, That either the Words *Dici* and *Decantari* muſt be confounded; or that, during the good ſimplicity of Time, the Pronunciation was made by *Dici*, onely with the difference of *Altâ voce*; but afterwards graced with a meaſure of Harmony: yet ſuch an one, as cannot be compared higher, than to the matter of Plain Song; for I am deceived, if the Eaſtern Muſick ever improved further. *Antiphones* I know they had, and upon what Seraphical occaſion, if *Sozomen* deliver it rightly: but this came to no more than our Alternation, at the moſt; ordinary ſinging of the Pſalms, by way of Reſponds, but all in the ſame Time and Tune, and without any Diſcant at all.

Therefore to ſay all at once: The Singing of the *Nicene Creed*

Creed, as now it is, with all the Ornaments and Figurations of *Harmony*, is but a yesterdays business, and contemporary to the *Organ*: but however the same *Creed* hath been most certainly sung according to the Improvements of Time, and at the least *in Plano Cantu*, in a Plain Song fashion, ever since the date of the Council it self, and for the Reason given out of the Order of Baptism.

FINIS.

A SERMON UPON THE Resurrection,

From I Corinth. XV. XX.

BY

JOHN GREGORIE,

Master of Arts of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon.*

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Clark* for *T. Williams*, and are to be sold at the *Bible* in *Little Britain*. 1671.

A

SERMON

UPON THE

Resurrection,

From I Corinth. XV. XX.

BY

JOHN CRADOCK

Minister of Aire in Yorkshire

Printed by A. Clark for T. Williams, and are to be sold at the Bear at St. Dunstans Gate, 1671.

A SERMON UPON THE Resurrection.

I Cor. xv. 20.

But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that sleep.

THe Perfection of God is, that he can have no *Hope*; the Perfection of Man is, that he can attain unto the End of his *Hope*. *If in this life onely we had hope, we were of all men most miserable.* The very Heathen themselves, though in other things run cross, yet all concenter'd in this Faith. Divine *Plato* believed and taught, That there should be a παλιγγενεσία, or *Regeneration* of things in the Revolution of Time. The *Egyptian Sages* determined the space to be a Period of 30000 years: therefore in their Hieroglyphicks, or Holy Writings, the Character of the Soul was a *Pyramis*. The Correspondency is, That as a *Pyramis* (if it be turned

about upon its Axis, the Axis continuing ſtill the ſame) is Geometrically transformed into a new ſolid *Cone*; ſo Mortality having gone its Round, as it were, in this Circle of Time, upon the immovable Center of the Soul, ſhall become a new Body, and unite again. It is the Reaſon why the Sepulchres of their Kings were ſet up in a Pyramidal form, as they are ſeen to be at this day.

Thoſe that underſtand not the Myſterious and Mathematical part, (which I could ſpeak no plainer) may receive the ſenſe and meaning, That even theſe unlikely Men plowed in *Hope*.

But we need not inſtance Men; the very unreaſonable part of the Creation, even the Creature it ſelf, now ſubject to Vanity, travelleth under the pain of this *Hope*, and by a certain ἀποκαραδοκία, or *Lifting up of the Head*, as S. *Paul* expreſſeth it, earneſtly expecteth, as by an eager and underſtanding confidence, to be delivered *into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God*.

And yet, I fear me, we preach but to *Corinthians* ſtill; and that, if the Company were divided, as at the Council where S. *Paul* pleaded his Cauſe, I doubt me the moſt part would be *Sadducees*, and might be called in queſtion for not having *Hope* of the Reſurrection of the Dead. We pretend indeed, as if we had no continuing City; but, that we look for one to come. But when I ſee that our inward Thoughts are, that our Houſes ſhall continue, and our Dwelling-places to all Generations; when I ſee that this their way is, I am ready to think, the *wiſe man dieth as the fool*; and to compare *Man being in honour*, unto the *Beaſts that periſh*. When I ſee the incomprehenſible patience of God, ſtill drawing us, as he did *Ephraim*, *with the Cords of a Man*, with the Bonds (in the *Hebrew* 'tis *Denſis funiculis amoris*, with the Thick bonds) of Love: And the infinite ſecurity of the People on the other ſide, *drawing Iniquity with Cords of Vanity, and Sin as it were with a Cart-rope*; I dare not go about to conſider, what ſhall be the end of theſe Men.

Iſa. 5. 18.

We are all ready to wiſh with *Balaam*, that we may

die

die the Death of the Righteous, and that our Laſt End may be like His: but when I ſee men live, as if they never thought to die; and die, as if they never thought to live again: when I ſee, that inſtead of Shining Lights, they go out like Snuffs, in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe Generation; ready to ſay to their departing Souls, as that great Unbeliever, *Animula blandula, vagula, &c.* I ſeem to be ſo far from giving an account of the *Hope* that is in me, that, in contradiction of King *Agrippa*'s words to S. *Paul*, I am almoſt perſwaded not to be a *Chriſtian*.

The greateſt Argument in our own Opinion, that we are not ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες, *ſuch as have no Hope*; ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, *Atheiſts*, or *without God in the world*, is, that we come up to his Houſe, to be here taught of his Ways, *&c.* But this Word of his hath too truly proved a Mirror, wherein we daily come to behold our ſelves; but with no greater Impreſſion, than we do our Natural Faces; we go away, and ſtrait forget what manner of Men we were.

But thou believeſt, thou ſaiſt, that this Body of thine ſhall riſe again. Thou doſt well; *the Devils alſo believe and tremble*. But wilt thou know, O vain Man, that this *Faith without Works is dead? The Tree is known by its Fruits*. And can I think that thou, which all this while doſt but cumber the ground, and bringeſt forth nothing but wild Grapes, doſt believe, that as the Tree falleth, ſo it ſhall lie?

But let all this be a Tranſportation and Ecſtaſis; the beſt ſhall be ſuppoſed, That there is no man here, but knoweth in whom, and what he hath believed, and therefore cannot be thought to boggle at the great Article of the Reſurrection. But thus much, I am ſure, muſt be granted me, That we all put the day of our death far from us: For it is not poſſible, that they who remember their latter end, ſhould thus ſin. The miſtruſt however of Infidelity in the former, and the certain experience of our ſupineneſs in the later, moved me to reflect upon you theſe two Common (but therefore the leſs noted) Conſiderations.

1. The firſt end of our Life, *Death*.
2. The ſecond is the end of our Hope, *Reſurrection*.

And first, of the first Fruits expressed here. Secondly, of the whole Lump, implied in the Inference, *But now: But now is Christ risen, &c.* And first, of the end of our Life: but which I mean to consider of, not under the discouraging Term of *Death*, but as it is here comfortably secured, under the Type and Adumbration of *Sleep*.

Lib. de caus. puls. *Sleep* and *Death* are of so near a Kin, that *Galen* saith of them, that they are Brother and Sister; answerable to that in *Homer*'s Poetry, where they are both said to have one Mother, and to be begotten of the Night. *Somnus Mortis Imago*, is the old saying; that *Sleep is the Lecture of Death*. And 'tis a Masterpiece, of which that of the *Comœdian* may be affirmed, *Qui utramvis rectè novit, ambas noverit*: He that hath been asleep, may know *Death* at first sight. *Plato* in his *Phædon* is not contented to say they are alike; but, in a manner, the same; and, that *Sleep* is a very kind of *Death*.

When the Scripture speaks of Mens departure from hence, the usual Phrase is, not to say such an one *died*, but such an one *slept* with his Fathers: And the same Spirit speaketh to the Dead, but as one would do to those that are not yet stirring, *Awake, awake, Sing ye that dwell in the dust.*

We are all here but Strangers and Pilgrims; and our being here, we use to call but This, that is, No Life; but the Passage and Journey to another: *While 'tis called to day* we travel on through the ways of this World; but the *Night cometh, and no man can work* at the approach of this Evening. We *die*, that is, we *rest from our Labours*.

When we go to take our Natural Rest, we enter into our Chambers, and shut the Doors. Such a Room as this is the Sepulchre. A Church-yard, in the expression of the Ancients, was but Κοιμητήριον, a *Dormitory*, or Sleeping-place. And in the 26. of *Isaiah* and the 20. verse, the *Grave* is no otherwise termed; where the People appointed to die, are bid to go but into their Chambers, and shut the Doors about them. And we need not fear to trust our selves; for he that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore, hath the Keys of Hell and Death.

Having

Having entred our Chambers, and ſhut the Door, the next thing we do, is, to commend our ſelves to God. So the Martyr *Stephen*, when he was to fall into that other Sleep, firſt ſaid his Prayers, *Lord Jeſu receive my Spirit.*

This done, we put off our Clothes: So, *Naked we came into this World, and Naked we ſhall go out, &c.* The Raiment of a Man (ſaith a Learned *Rabbin*) is his Body: And had our Father *Adam* ſtood, we had needed no other. *Thou haſt clothed me* (ſaith holy *Job*) *with Skin and with Fleſh*: When therefore we die, we are ſaid, in St. *Peter*'s language, to *put off this Tabernacle*; as, in St. *Paul*, when *we riſe again, to be clothed upon with our Houſe from Heaven.* O're night we put off this Weed of Mortality; but the Morning cometh, and we ſhall be covered again with our Skin, and put on Incorruption, our Better Clothes, as to go and ſee God in this Fleſh: The ſame Fleſh we put off the night before; but with this difference, That this Foul Garment, which could not be kept Unſpotted of the World, ſhall in the mean time be waſhed clean in the Blood of the Lamb.

Our Clothes put off, we lay our ſelves down, and take our reſt: And to die, in the Prophet *Iſaiah*'s Phraſe, is but to *lie down in our Beds. And when thy days ſhall be fulfilled,* ſaith *Nathan* to *David, and thou ſhalt ſleep with thy Fathers*: ſo indeed we read it, as we may; but the Original is, *And thou ſhalt lie down with thy Fathers*, 2 *Sam.* 7. 12. So *Aſa*, the Kings Coffin is called a Bed, 2 *Chron.* 16. 14. and our Fore-fathers, in their *Saxon* Tongue, ſtyle a Burying-place legerſtop, or place to lie down in; as in the Laws of King *Canute*, *Numb.* 3. Iſa. 43. 17. & 57. 1.

In the caſe of Natural Reſt, 'tis not the whole Man, onely the Earthly part falleth aſleep; the Soul is then moſt awake. The Bodies Night is the Souls Day. Our Better Part, ſaith *Cardan*, is never its own Man till now, when exalted unto a State of Separation (as it were) in the Body, it ſpendeth the time in Contemplations, free, and congenial to its own Extraction. So in the ſleep of Death, 'tis not the *totus Homo*: The Body indeed is dead, becauſe of ſin; the Soul is then moſt alive. Here, as a Servant, it is ſtill re-

required to the Exigencies of the Body; having no time of its own to ſpend, but what it can get by ſtealth, when the Maſter is gone to bed: But there, like its Redeemer, free among the Dead, and delivered from the Incumbrances of the Body, it beginneth to be a Soul to it ſelf, minding that which is above, and looking with a more piercing eye upon the Inviſible things of God.

It is noted by the Naturaliſts, and we find it true in obſervation, That no noiſe awaketh Natural Sleep more ſuddenly, than an Humane Voice: Nay, though it be that Καρώδης, that dead and dangerous Sleep; as the Aphoriſm noteth it in *Hippocrates*. But eſpecially the Experiment holdeth, if the Voice calleth upon him in his own Name. But that we ſhall all be awaked out of this other Sleep, by the ſound of our Proper Names, is more than I can pretend to; though S. *Peters* call was, *Tabitha ſurge*; and our Saviour's to his Friend, *Lazare veni foras*, *Lazarus come forth*. To ſay nothing of *Epiphanius* his Tradition, That when our Lord went down into Hell, and there found our Father *Adam* faſt, he took him by the hand, and called him by his own Name, in the words of S. *Paul*, *Surge Adam qui dormis* (ſo indeed ſome Ancient Copies read it,) *Ariſe Adam, thou that ſleepeſt, and ſtand up from the dead*, Chriſt taketh thee by the hand: But this I am ſure of, that we ſhall all be awaked by a Voice, the Voice of an Archangel; and the word ſhall be, as ſome think, *Surgite mortui, &c.* Nor ſhall it be the Voice of a God, and not of a Man; it ſhall be an Humane Voice: for, by the Archangel, we are to mean the *Son of Man*. *For the hour cometh, in which all they that are in the Graves ſhall hear his voice, and ſhall come forth*, *Joh.* 5. 28. Which why it ſhould be ſtrange of us, I know not; ſince it is true of the Swallows, by a certain and confeſt Experience, that when the Winter cometh they lie down in the hollow of a Tree, and there falling aſleep, quietly reſolve into their firſt Principles; but at the Springs approach, they are not ſo (though throughly) dead, but that they hear the ſtill noiſe of Returning Nature, and awaking out of their Maſs, riſe up every one to their life again.

Ego

Ego novi hominem, &c. I know a man (ſaith the Learned Prince of *Concordia*) who in his ſoundeſt Sleep could walk, talk, write, and diſpatch any Buſineſs of the moſt required Vigilance. They ſeem to have had ſome ſuch conceit of Death, who hold it no abſurdity to write Letters to their dead Friends; as the Emperor *Theodoſius* to S. *Chryſoſtom*, more than thirty Years after his deceaſe: as if Death were a kind of live Sleep, ſuch an one as that which *Jupiter* ſent of an Errand, to awake *Agamemnon*. And may we not as properly ſay, that to be Dead, is to be Alive; as to ſay, to Die, is to be Born? And yet the Ancients (as if Corruption had been their Father, and the Worms their Mother) were wont to call the days of their Death *Natalia*; not Dying, but Birth-days. *Mos inolevit ſancta Eccleſia*; It hath been the Cuſtom in the Holy Church (ſaith *Haymo*) when a Saint of God departed this Life, to call it, not the day of his Death, but the day of his Nativity. That which we call Death's, they call Life's Door. *Seneca* himſelf ſaid as much; *Dies iſte, quem Tu tanquam Supremum reformidas, Æterni Natalis eſt.* As if all this were ſo indeed, the *Jews* to this day ſtick not to call their *Golgotha's*, *Batte Caiim*, the Houſes or Places of the Living. At the leaſt, they have an Effectual Life in them; for the *Mummies* are known to be moſt Sovereign and Magiſtral in Medicine; and the principal Ingredient of the Weapon-Salve, is the Moſs of a dead Mans Skull; as the *Recipe* delivered by *Paracelſus* to *Maximilian* the Emperor.

Once more, and I leave this Parallel. Sleep, we know, is moſt natural to Animal Creatures, and for Men ſo neceſſary, that *Ariſtotle* ſaith, That the end of it in us, is, *Bene Ratiocinari*: And yet he himſelf is cited by *Olympiodorus*, to have known a Man who never ſlept in all his Life. And the ſtrangeneſs hath been quitted by an Experience of later days. The Compariſon holdeth in the Sleep of Death: 'tis *Omnibus communis*, common to all Men, as we uſe to ſay. And yet ſome *Jews* believe, that the laſt Age of Men ſhall be ſo long-liv'd as to prevent the Reſurrection; But S. *Paul* himſelf hath promiſed, πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, that

that we ſhall not all die; ſome *ſhall be changed*. And therefore 'tis no vain Article, which we ſo daily profeſs, That our Saviour ſhall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead. We are to ſay then of all thoſe that are departed this Life, as the *Jews* of their Father *Jacob*, *Non eſt mortuus*; or as our Saviour of *Lazarus*, and the *Maid*, *Why trouble you your ſelves? they are not Dead, but Sleep.* And when a friend leaveth this World, we are to bid him but Good-night, in ſure and certain *Hope* to meet again in the great Morning of the World.

But now, *How long, how long, Lord, Holy and True?* will ſome ſay; or, as thoſe in S. *Peter*, *Where is the Promiſe of his Coming? For, ſince the Fathers fell aſleep, all things continue to be as they were from the beginning of the Creation.* But theſe Men have not the knowledge; and this is to be ſpoken to their ſhame. *The Lord is not ſlack, as concerning his Promiſe: for, Behold, he cometh quickly; and his Reward is with him.* When we awake out of our natural Sleep, be the Night never ſo long, to us it ſeemeth but a Moment. And the Night is no longer, in the Prophet *David*'s account, *Pſal.* 30. 5. For, *his anger endureth but a moment*: that is, weeping may endure for a Night, but joy cometh in the Morning. 'Tis no otherwiſe in Death; for, when firſt we awake out of this Sleep, we ſhall think that we did but then lie down; and were it a thouſand years, it would ſeem no more to us than it doth to God himſelf, *but as one day.*

It is obſervable, That the Holy Ghoſt, which accounteth Natural Death as a Sleep, yet calleth the Life of a Sinner by the Name of Death. To be truly Dead, is, to be Dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins: And therefore S. *Paul*, not making mention of the Great Reſurrection, bids his *Corinthians awake to Righteouſneſs, and ſin not*; For, a Righteous man hath more hope in his Death, than a Sinner in his Life; and no man can be Dead to Nature, that is alive to God.

But, if to Die, be but to fall Aſleep; we ſhould put off this Garment of Fleſh with as good a will, as we do our Clothes. And that we may ſleep well in the Night, we ſhould forbear ſleeping in the Day; not idleing in the Mar-

ket,

ket, as thoſe in the Parable; nor ſitting down *in the ſeat of the ſcornful*, but *working out our ſalvation*: for, *the ſleep of a labouring man is ſweet.*

And that we may reſt in theſe Beds in an undiſturbed peace, we are to provide that no innate Furies, no Stings of Death, like groſs and reſtleſs vapours, do ariſe from a guilty Conſcience. Such a man will be ſcared with Dreams, and terrified with Viſions, and be full of toſſings to and fro, until the dawning of the day. *Job.*

And becauſe to the conciliation of Reſt and Sleep it is required that there be a moderate repletion, (for *Paulus Ægineta* maketh this to be of the Definition) we are by no means to go to bed, till firſt of all we have ſate down to the Great Supper, till we have eaten of that Bread, and drank of that Cup, which ſhew the Lord's Death (but our Life) till he come; and are therefore not unfitly termed by the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council, σύμβολα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, *the Sacraments and Emblems of the Reſurrection.* This done, we may lay our ſelves down in peace, and take our reſt; for the Lord will make us *to dwell in ſafety.* And, as the Diſciples to our Saviour concerning *Lazarus*, if thus *we ſleep, we ſhall do well.* Of the firſt Conſideration thus much: Paſs we now from Death to Life, from the end of our Days to the end of our Hope, *Reſurrection.*

I Said that was twofold; firſt, of the *Firſt Fruits*, then of the *whole Lump.* And firſt of the *Reſurrection of our Saviour*; but which I am not here to make proof of, for it is taken for granted in the Text. But if any ſhould be ſo fooliſh and ſlow of heart, as not to believe all that is written in the Prophets, the Heathen *Tacitus* will tell you one Article, in the 15. of his *Annals*, *That he ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*: and the Jew *Joſephus* addeth the other, in the 18. of his *Antiquities*, *That he roſe again the third day from the dead.*

That which moſt properly I am to make known to you is, upon what conſideration our Saviour can be called *The Firſt*; then, by what Analogy *The Firſt Fruits.* The

Patriarch *Enoch* was Tranſlated; and the Prophet *Elias* went up to Heaven in a Fiery Chariot: And the Aſſumption of *Moſes* hath been diſputed for by ſome, though it ſhould ſeem, by the Contention betwixt the Arch-Angel and the Devil about his Body, that there was no ſuch matter. Howſoever, theſe all rather died not, than roſe again. As for the Riſing of *Samuel*, to which the Cunning Woman of *Endor* pretended, it was nothing leſs than a Reſurrection; 'twas an Apparition: And *Saul* ſhould have ſaid to the Woman, as She to Him, *Why haſt thou deceived me? for this is not Samuel.* *Eliſha* indeed raiſed up the *Shunamite*'s Son; and our Saviour raiſed up his Friend *Lazarus*, after he had been dead four days: And yet ſtill, This was the *firſt Reſurrection.* The reſt did not go before, as the Scripture ſeemeth to ſay, but followed This. For, as he was a Lamb Slain, ſo was he a Lamb Riſen too, from the beginning of the World. The reſt were Raiſed, He only *Roſe from the Dead.* *Eliſha*'s dead Bones raiſed up another Man's; Our Saviour's dead Bones raiſed up themſelves. They raiſed Others, by His Power; He, Himſelf, by his own.

To ſay therefore, there was any Reſurrection before This, is to ſay, that *Abraham* was before *Chriſt.* The reſt were all but ſecond Brothers in the Reſurrection: He only was *Primogenitus Mortuorum*, the firſt-begotten of the Dead.

We have ſeen in what ſenſe our Saviour is to be accounted the Firſt: I am now to tell you, in what proportion he ſtandeth to the *Firſt Fruits.*

But then I am to lead you back to the Old Law of the *Omer* or *Sheaf*, *Levit.* 23. 9. where the Children of *Iſrael* are commanded, That at the Reaping of their Harveſt, no Bread, or Parched Corn, or Green Ears be eaten in their Dwellings, till a Sheaf of the Firſt Fruits be offered, and waved before the Lord, together with a Lamb for a Burnt Offering. The Traditions here (and not unneceſſarily) ſupply, that thoſe who lived far from the Holy City, might eat of the New Corn when Mid-day was paſt; for that

that it was preſumed, the *Sanhedrin* would ſee the Sheaf offered up ere that time. Thus the Letter and Ceremony; which how well it is anſwered in the Truth and Subſtance, I ſhall briefly ſhew you.

The Typical Sheaf (as the Doctors deliver in the *Talmud*) was to be cut down in the Night: So was the *True*. Codmenac. He was cut down indeed in the Day time; but the Darkneſs was the greater: for the very Light of This Day was Darkneſs; and therefore, how great was that? A Darkneſs, that indeed might be felt: A Darkneſs over the face of the whole Earth: Such an one as in the Beginning was over the face of the Deep, before the Creator had ſaid, *Let there be Light*. And though the Scripture maketh mention but of Darkneſs till the Ninth hour; yet moſt certain it is, that That Day had another Darkneſs, about the Twelfth hour, of Natures own proviſion. For, by the Aſtronomical Tables, the Moon was at that time almoſt totally Eclipſed: So truly were theſe Firſt Fruits cut down in the Night.

The Typical Sheaf thus reaped down, was carried into the Court-yard of the Sanctuary, threſhed, parched, ground; then lifted up, and waved before the Lord: So was the *True*. The manner of the *Jews* Threſhing was by the Treading of Oxen, and Wheels Indented with Iron Teeth. And did not many Bulls compaſs him about? And was not He *bruiſed for our Tranſgreſſions?* His Hands and his Feet were pierced, and all his Bones were out of joint: they had been broken too, but for the Prophecy. He was Parched: For, was not his Strength dried up as a Potſheard? Did not his Tongue cleave to the Roof of his Mouth? And was he not brought down to the Duſt of Death? You may hear him ſay all this himſelf, *Pſal.* 22. He was lifted up too: For, *As Moſes lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, ſo was the Son, &c.* And he was waved too, (as ſome compare it) by an Earthquake, at the Reſurrection. But inſtead of Waving, the Text tranſlateth it, The Sheaf was Separated. So were theſe Firſt Fruits; and the Deſertion was ſo great, that he cried out, His God, his God had

forſaken him. Laſtly, there was an Extraordinary Lamb to be offered up, as due to the Sheaf. And if one ſhould ask us, as once the Son did the Father, *Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the Lamb for a Burnt-offering?* he would be anſwered, that *God would provide himſelf a Lamb. Ecce Agnus Dei, Behold the Lamb of God.* But that which moſt of all concerns is, the Condition of the *Firſt Fruits:* That was, till theſe were offered up, no man of the Land of *Iſrael* might eat of his new Corn; 'twas yet profane and curſed, as the Ground that bare it: but the Sheaf once offered up, the whole Crop is intituled to the Conſecration: For, *if the Firſt Fruits be holy*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *then ſo is alſo the whole Lump.* This alſo is the caſe of the Reſurrection: For, *if Chriſt, the Firſt Fruits, be riſen, then they alſo that are his*, the whole Lump, *at his coming.* The Harveſt is the end of the World, and the end of our Life is the Seed-time: Church-yards are the Plats, which therefore the *High-Dutch* moſt properly term *God's Acres*, or *Glebe-land*, wherein the Dead are *ſown a Natural Body*; but the Crop ſhall not be ſuch, as wherewith the Mower filleth not his hand, or he that bindeth up the Sheafs his boſom. It ſhall be *with the Fat of the Kidneys of Wheat*, as *Moſes* in the Song, *Deut.* 32. 14. *'Tis ſown in Diſhonour, it riſeth again in Glory.* And, *the Reapers are the Angels*, who ſhall gather and bind us up again בצרור החיים *Betſror hachaiim*, into the bundle of Life, as in the 1 *Sam.* 25. 29. which Words therefore the *Jews* uſe to repeat in their *Dirges*, and inſcribe upon their *Tombs.*

The *Firſt Fruits* being riſen, take any one of us any Grain of Corn in the whole Lump, and caſt it into the Ground; if it die not, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much Fruit: For the Life of the Lump, like Corn in the Earth, is laid in the Firſt Fruits in God. The Inſtance of the Corn is ſo pregnant, that the *Greek* Churches, in their Commemorations of the Dead, uſe to boil Wheat in Water, and ſet it before them, as a convincing Symbol of the Reſurrection. And my Author is bold to ſay, πολὺ ἡ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων τῆ περὶ τοῦ ἀναστάσεως διανοίᾳ, that

that This is the Greater wonder of the two; that the Reſurrection of the Corn is more prodigious than that of the Body. Strange indeed it is, that a Grain of Corn ſhould not quicken, except it die: But much more ſtrange, that out of one Grain, and one as good as dead, ſhould ſpring forth ſuch a numerous Increaſe. As for our Bodies, which are *ſown in Corruption*, the Earth, when ſhe ſhall give up her Dead, will render but, as the Talent hid in the Napkin, the ſame again, or one for another. But the Husbandman receiveth his own with Intereſt: Shall I ſay that this Grain hath gained him Ten Grains? Nay, in ſome Parts under the Line they reap the Profit of a Thouſand for One.

In relation to the *Firſt Fruits*, we are called by Saint *Paul* Σύμφυτοι, *Complantati*, ſuch are *planted together with him in Likeneſs of his Reſurrection*. Correſpondently the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith, *Our Bones ſhall flouriſh like an Herb*. Now the Herbs and Plants, we know, however cut down, yet re-inforcing from the Root, ſpring up and riſe again. We uſe vulgarly, but improperly, to call the uppermoſt of the Branches the Top of a Tree; but we are corrected by *Ariſtotle*, in his Bookes *De Anima*, where we are taught to call the Root, the Head; and the Top, the Feet. In the Reverſe of this Compariſon, the *Firſt Fruits* are the Root, and the Head; we the Branches, or Members. And in the 26. of *Iſaiah*, the Head acknowledgeth the whole departed Race of Mankind to be his Trunk or Dead Body. We read it, *Thy dead men ſhall ariſe; with my dead body ſhall they ariſe*. But the reſt is put in by the Tranſlators. The Original is, *Thy dead men ſhall ariſe; they ſhall ariſe, my dead body*. Seeing therefore that the Ax is not laid to the Root of the Tree, what though the Branches be lopt off by Death? there is ſtill Hope in the Tree, ſaith Holy *Job*. For, *though the Stock thereof die in the ground, yet through the ſcent of Water 'twill bud, and bring forth Boughs like a Plant*, which withereth over night, but being watered with the Dew of Heaven, ſpringeth up afreſh in the morning. And therefore in the ſame

Prophecy

Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, the Dew of dead men is likened to the Dew of Herbs; *Ros tuus, Ros Olerum.* To this ſay the *Jews*, in the Book *Zohar*, That, at the laſt day, a kind of Plaſtical Dew ſhall fall upon the Dead, and ingender with *Luz*, the little Bone ſpoken of before; and ſo out of this, all the reſt of our Bones, and the whole Man ſhall ſpring forth. But we are not to give heed unto Jewiſh Fables; and therefore it ſhall not be here inquired, who ſhall be the Father of this Rain; or, Who ſhould beget theſe Drops of Dew. Sure we are, that though touch'd by Death, we ſhrink up, like that Senſitive Plant; yet we ſhall ſoon quicken by his Influence, whoſe *Head* (in the *Canticles*) *is filled with Dew, and his Locks as with the Drops of the Night.* In Exprobration therefore unto Death and Mortality, we know whoſe uſe it was to bury their Dead in their Gardens, ſowing their Bodies with as much Faith as their Fruits, and equally expecting the ſpring of Both. 'Tis for no other reaſon, that we our ſelves ſtick our Hearſes with Flowers, and go forth to the Grave with Roſemary. Our Precedents were the *Jews*, whoſe ancient Cuſtom it was, by the way as they went with their Corpſes, to pluck every one up the Graſs, as who ſhould ſay, they were not ſorry, as men without Hope; for their Brother was but ſo cropt off, and ſhould ſpring up again in his due ſeaſon.

But the Prophet *Iſaiah*'s Compariſon of the Flouriſhing of our Bones like an Herb, is yet further made good by (as I think) one of the greateſt Secrets yet known in Nature. A Learned Chymiſt, who ſpent much time in the Contemplation of Tinctures, aud Impreſſions of Vegetals, to prove the Great Principle of Salt, made this Experiment. He took ſeveral Herbs and Plants, and calcined them to Aſhes: he put up the Aſhes into ſeveral Glaſſes, ſealed Hermetically, and written upon with the ſeveral Names of the calcined Herbs. When he would ſhew the Experiment, he applied a ſoft flame to the Glaſſes, where forthwith he might perceive the ſelf-ſame Herbs riſing up by little and little out of the Aſhes, every one in his proper form: and, the flame ſubtracted, they would return to their own Chaos again.

The

The Spectators, as the Chymiſt, beheld this with the greateſt admiration; and, giving thanks to God, concluded from thence the Reſurrection of the dead Body.

We may take an *omen* of our Riſing again from the time of our Saviour's Reſurrection. The Firſt Fruits roſe in the Spring; and that's the time (ſo the Senatour *Manilius*) wherein the *Phœnix* riſeth out of her Aſhes: And 'tis the time wherein the *Egyptians* celebrate their Annual Reſurrection; for upon the 26. of *March* they commonly go to a place by *Nile*, where they ſee and touch the Bodies riſing out of their Graves. It will ſeem ſtrange, I confeſs; but it hath been ſeriouſly teſtified and believed. Howſoever, we ſhall take this but as a ſtaff of *Egypt*, a broken Reed, or but ſuch an one as *Gehazi* laid upon the dead Child: But the Maſter cometh ſhortly, and ſhall command the Breath to come from the four Winds, and breathe upon our Slain; and then theſe Bones ſhall live.

But I would not have this Doctrine too partially applied. Our Saviour indeed is ſaid to be *the Firſt Fruits of them that ſleep* in him. Thoſe that ſleep in him, are ſuch which here awake and ſtand up from the Death of ſin. For as there is a ſecond Death, ſo here is a firſt Reſurrection. In the great Morning of the World the Dew ſhall fall down upon the dead in Chriſt, as that other Dew upon the Fleece of *Gideon*; and the reſt of Mankind ſhall be dry. But another Dew ſhall fall upon the ungodly, a blaſting Mildew; and then the reſt of the ground ſhall be wet, and the Fleece only ſhall be dry. *The wicked lie in the graves like ſheep* (ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*) *that are appointed to the ſlaughter; and the righteous ſhall have dominion over them in the morning.* In the Field of the World, where our Saviour is the Firſt Fruits, the Good are the Wheat, and the Bad are the Tares: which as they both are cut down alike, ſo ſhall they both alike be gathered up; but the Tares for the Fire, and the good Corn for the great Husbandman's Barn. They ſeem indeed to be of the Lump; but have no more title to the Firſt Fruits, than that, as theſe were cut down, ſo thoſe were ſowed in the night.

If

If theſe things be ſo, *what manner of perſons ought we to be in all holy Converſation?* But if the Reſurrection were to be argued from the Sanctity of Life, there was never leſs Hope of it than now: Nay, we take the onely courſe to prove that our Saviour is not yet riſen. 'Tis but the converſion of S. *Paul*'s Propoſition, *If Chriſt be not riſen, then you are yet in your ſins*; But you are yet in your ſins; and ye know what follows.

In all holy converſation, &c. Why? there was never more Holineſs pretended to, never leſs practiſed, than now. And ye muſt not count me your Enemy becauſe I tell you this Truth. What ſtraining here is at the Gnat of a Ceremony, by them which can ſwallow whole Camels of other profitable Abominations? How odious is the very name of a Cope or Surplice, to thoſe which yet can love the Garment ſpotted with the Fleſh? All poſſible means have been taken to purge the material Temple of any ſuſpicious Ruſt, contracted by the inconſiderations of Time: but the Temples of our Bodies, and they ſhould be thoſe of the Holy Ghoſt, they are painted ſtill, *Painted Sepulchres*. They appear well outwardly; and we have been perſwaded to waſh our ſelves in *Jordan* from the *Romiſh* Leproſie: We do well; onely in this the Lord be merciful unto me; We will have *Rimmons* ſtill: And what was *Rimmon*, think ye? 'Twas the Strumpet Lady of Luſt and Wantonneſs.

If it be well to deface a Picture in a Church, will it not be much better to reſtore the Image of God in our ſelves? I do not ſay that theſe things ought they not to have done; I leave that to an higher Diſcretion: but I may and muſt ſay, that if the other things be left undone, ye have but waſh'd the outſide of the Platter. What availeth it if the Statutes of *Omri* are not kept, when other Judgments ſhall be turned into Wormwood, and the fruits of Righteouſneſs into Hemlock? Talk of Chriſtians! Get to be Heathens firſt. I can believe that theſe men hope to riſe again; for they ſay, and they do as they would be done by.

The Body and Blood of Chriſt are the Sacraments of Reſurrection: but can I think them to be ſo to them who

ſo

ſo duely come to receive them unworthily? It is the cauſe (ſaith S. *Paul*) *many are weak and ſickly among you, and many ſleep.*

If ye be indeed riſen with Chriſt, ſeek thoſe things which are above. But do they ſo that ſit brooding upon this Earthly Pelf, to hatch a Cockatrice Egg, or ſuch an one as the ſilly Eſtrich leaveth on the Sand? Do we ſeek thoſe things which are above but as we do theſe which are below? We can light a Candle, and ſweep the Houſe; and balance that eternal weight of Glory with a falſe Meaſure.

Will you hear the end of all? *Fear God, and keep his Commandments; for this is the whole duty of Man.* Pretend to what you will; *Pure Religion, and undefiled before God and the Father,* you know what it is: It is, *to viſit the Fatherleſs and Widows in their Affliction; and to keep himſelf unſpotted of the World.*

FINIS.

ΚΑΪΝΑ'Ν ΔΕΥ'ΤΕΡΟΣ;

OR, A

DISPROOF

OF HIM,

In S. Luke III. ver. 36.

BY

JOHN GREGORIE,

Master of Arts of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon.*

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Clark* for *T. Williams*, and are to be sold at the *Bible* in *Little Britain*. 1671.

KAINA'N ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ·

DISPROOF

OF HIM·

BY

Author of Apocal. Elucidated, &c.

Printed by A. Clark for T. Tegg, and are to be sold at the Bible in Little Britain. 1671.

ΚΑΪΝΑ'Ν ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ·

OR, A

DISPROOF OF HIM,

In S. Luke III. ver. 36.

WHen to assure even the Scripture it self was accounted but Distraction; and whilst the holy Cares of those Primitive Souls slept securely upon the more instructing parts of the Book of God, the Enemy came and sowed Tares in the *Genealogies*, proportioning his Temptations to the more obnoxious parts, and more exposed to the Chance of Transcription, or Industry of Violence.

To reconcile the *Greek* Book of the Generations to the *Hebrew* Accounts, the Deliberations have been many, learned, and insufficient.

Moses saith that *Arphaxad* begat *Sala*, and *Sala* begat *Heber*, &c. S. *Luke* saith, that *Arphaxad* begat *Cainan*, and *Cainan* begat *Sala*, and *Sala* begat *Heber*, &c. which (seeing that the same Spirit equally guided both the Pens) I can never wonder at enough (saith one) *& propter ingenii tarditatem vehementissimo stupore perculsus, nescio perscrutari.* Beda præf. in Act. Apost.

But leaving S. *Luke* a while to the success of this Inquiry: Certain it is, that the supernumerary *Cainan* is most originally to be charged upon the *Seventy*; but *quod nemo scire* (saith *Scaliger*) *neque unde hauserunt, neque cur potuerint, hactenus causam reddere potuit*: He saith, that no man can tell from whence they had it, or could ever yet give a reason why they should put it in.

Concerning

Concerning this Tranſlation, the Traditions are, That under the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelph*, and by the Agency of *Demetrius*, ſeventy and two of the Elders of *Iſrael* were invited over to *Alexandria* with the Originals of their Law: That they were appointed a Receſs in the Iſle *Pharos*, where in the ſpace of ſeventy two days they rendred it into *Greek*: That the Tranſlation firſt diligently reviſed, and approved of by the *Jews* there frequently reſiding at that time, was carefully and ſolemnly put up and reſerved in the King's Library. So *Ariſtæas*, and from him *Joſephus*. *Philo* ſeemeth to intimate, as if the Tranſlation had been ſeverally and unanimouſly performed, that is, by two and two in a Cell, as *Epiphanius*, and the Emperour in the Novels.

But by the fuller Authority both of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Intereſt, it was tranſlated all alike, and by every one in a ſeparate Conclave. So *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Cyrillus Hieroſolymitanus*, the *Talmudiſts* in *Megillah Nikra*, *fol.* 9. *A.* in *Maſſichta Sopherim*, *c.* 1. *Halac* 8. *Abraham Zacuth* in *Juchaſin*. *R. Gedalias* in *Shalſhelet Haccabala*, *fol.* 23, 24, *&c.* And *Juſtin Martyr* would have the *Gentiles* to know ταῦτα ἃ μῦθος, *&c.* That this is no Fable, or fictitious Relation, for that he himſelf had been there, and viſited the Ruines of the Cells, and received this Tradition from the Inhabitants of the Place.

Antiquitat. Judaic l. 12. c. 2.

It is added moreover by the ſaid *Aben Batric*, that *Simeon* the Juſt was one of the Interpreters, and that upon his unbelief of a Paſſage in the Tranſlation which propheſied of Chriſt, it was given unto him not to ſee death till he had ſeen the Glory of God: Whom when he had taken up in his arms, he then began that his *Nunc dimittis*, *Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace*, *&c.*

For the Tranſlation, he expreſly affirmeth, that the whole was performed by each of them in his ſeveral Cell, no man diſſenting from another: and that the ſeveral Copies were all ſealed up, and put into the Temple of *Serapis*.

And yet contrary to all this, one *Armius* (ارميوس) quoted in the Preface to an *Arabick* Verſion of the *Greek Pentateuch*,

Pentateuch, saith, فاوقف ال فسقي ما قتلوا الشايخ فامر لقتلوا الشايخ في الترسق والقيد *That the Elders disagreed, and that therefore the King commanded they should be put in Prison, and under Chains.* Catena Arab. in Pentateuc. Mſ. in Arch. Bodleianis.

An eager and famous Contestation passed betwixt S. *Hierom* and S. *Austin* about this matter; the former attributing so little to the Story, that with him the Cells and Separation are but a Fable; the later so much, that he accounteth their varieties from the Original to be no less harmonious than those of the Gospels.

But forasmuch as the Testimonies, notwithstanding their number and concurrence, may be all thrust up into the single Authority of *Aristæus*, and that so substantially disabled by *Scaliger*, the most indifferent men take part with S. *Hierom*.

The truth of all may seem to be as followeth:

The *Talmudists* in *Sopherim* deliver a Tradition of five Elders who translated the five Books of *Moses* for *Ptolomy* the King, *&c.* ויהי היום קשה לישראל and that this was a sad day to the House of *Israel*, and like the days of the Calf, *&c.* And the time of this Translation is to this day kept a Fast, and noted in their *Kalendar* with a Miracle of three days Darkness, which, as they say, was then upon the Earth. Sopher. c. 1. Halac. 7.

The Tradition seemeth to point us to that version of the Law performed before the times of *Alexander the Great*, as *Aristobulus* testifieth in his first Book to *Ptolomy Philometor*: But the Tradition erroneously casteth it upon the days of *Ptolomy*, when not the Law only, but the Prophets also were translated, and by the seventy Elders, as before. Clem. Alex. 1. Strom.

Those among the *Jews* who read the Law in this Translation were called *Hellenists*, otherwise the Διασποραὶ Ἑλλήνων, and the קריון למפר *Korin lemephrah*: Such as read the Law backwards as the *Talmud*, in *Sota*, *fol.* 32. 6.

In the *Jerusalem Talmud* It is said, that *R. Levi* coming to *Cæsarea*, and hearing them read the *Shemang*, or *Audi Israel*

Israel (a Section of the Law) *Deut.* 6. אליניכתין *Hellenistin*, or in *Greek*, would have hindred them; which *R. Jose* perceiving, angerly said, He that cannot read it in *Hebrew*, shall he not read it at all? Nay, let him read it in any Tongue whatsoever that he understandeth, and he hath done his duty. *Sota*, c. 7.

This prepostrous way of Reading (as it was taken) bred a diversity of Conversation, and was the cause of many γογγυσμοὶ, or *murmurings*, betwixt the other *Jews* and *Hellenists*; for so we are to read, not *Grecians*, *Act.* 6. 1.

For the Translation, I believe it to be that which for the greatest part of the main body is yet extant, and that it was performed at such a Time and Place, and possibly by such a Number of Elders: For the Cells, the Separation, and miraculous Concent of the Interpreters, with other pompous Circumstances remembred by *Aristæus*, I assure my self they were all afterwards devised by the *Hellenists*, to advance the Reputation of their Scripture against that of the other murmuring *Jews*; which, derived down to the Fathers of the Church in such a disguise of Miracle and Antiquity, and which is more than that, expresly quoted by the Evangelists and Apostles, rather than the Original, was easily received with that precipitation of Reverence, as gave not time to consider what licentious courses had been practised upon it.

In this Translation, as now received, besides many other various Readings, two irreconcileable differences from the Original have passed: the one purely Chronological, by a numerous excess in the *Anni* Παιδοποιΐας; the other is not so onely, but also the Interposition of another *Cainan* into the Series of the Genealogies. This later committeth the New Testament with the Old: The former leaveth the Old upon plain terms of contradiction to its self, and is so vast, as in fixing the *Æra* of the Flood, to leave the *Hebrew* Computation many hundred years behind; and so absurd, as to let it follow that *Noah* died before the Flood, and *Methusalem* lived after it.

To reconcile either of these two to the Original, upon my

my dueſt conſideration of all that hath been deviſed, I find to be of an impoſſible performance.

To defend the Tranſlation againſt the Original, as the Romaniſts immoderately undertake, putteth us upon an unreaſonable and enſnaring conſequence; which howſoever men corrupted by engagement may more indiſcernably ſwallow up, yet ſuper-induced upon a ſincere and unmixed Faith, removeth the ancient Land-mark, and betrayeth us to Atheiſm and inſtability of mind, dividing a Kingdom againſt it ſelf, and toſſing the Ark of the Church to and fro, like a Wave of the Sea.

No man (I know) hath more to the purpoſe ſolicited this cauſe than the very Learned *Morinus*; and yet I can perceive that after all other ſtones removed, he is forced with *Baronius* to report himſelf to the Tradition of the Church, which, how Catholick ſoever, bringeth no more to paſs than this, That the *Greek* Computation hath been univerſally received from the very beginnings of Eccleſiaſtical Time. There was reaſon for it; for it pleaſed God (who even in theſe things deſpiſeth not the ways of men) that the Scripture might be the ſooner known, and to the more, to ſuffer it to paſs rather by the Streams than from the Fountains, to which the acceſs was harder, and the differences but ſuch as imported no ſubſtantial inconvenience in the ways of ſalvation.

But if Univerſal Tradition be of that moment in this matter, then what ſhall become of the Vulgar Edition, which muſt be maintained by that Party, and yet cannot be but upon the ſame terms; where notwithſtanding we find theſe ſums caſt up, not by the *Greek*, but the *Hebrew* reckoning?

As for their Cardinal *Aliac*, who undertook to make good this Computation of the *Seventy* by the great Conjunctions from the Figure of the World, judgment is already paſſed upon him by the Earl of *Mirandula*. J. Picus Mirand. Ad. Aſtro. l. 5. c. 9.

The ways of Reconciliation and Defence being thus ſhut againſt us, the Tranſlation it ſelf muſt be called in queſtion, and written upon as Supernumerary and Corrupt.

For the *Anni* Παιδοποιίας, 'tis evident from the method and demeanour of the undertaking, it is not of that kind as could fall out in Time, or by Tranſcription, but of deliberation and purpoſe, the numbers for the moſt part increaſing by a Centenary acceſſion.

By the Original, *Seth* was 105 years old when he begat *Enos*; by the *Septuagint* he was 205. *Enos* was 90 years old when he begat *Cainan*; the *Greek* is 190, *&c.* contriving ſo as to caſt all up into a ſet and intended form of Impoſture.

'Tis otherwiſe manifeſt by the different Traditions of this Period, not only as it is ſummed up by the Ancient Writers, *Demetrius*, *Eupolemon*, *Timotheus*, *Nicephorus*, *&c.* but in the Copies themſelves, and their Tranſlations, as in ſome *Arabick* Verſions of the *Greek Pentateuch* I obſerve, in the *Ruſſe Bible*, and the *Samaritan Pentateuch*; which alſo I undertake to be no Original, but to have been drawn out of the Greek Fountains, as, in reſpect of that, I may call them.

For the later, S. *Luke* I know is dangerouſly pretended; but in ſo low a ſpirited and ſhifting way, as that the Evangeliſt muſt needs be a loſer by the hand.

We muſt ſpeak it out, that however it hath appeared in the Later Copies of that Goſpel, and ſo derived down to the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Tranſlations, *&c.* yet the old Originals received it not; as alſo *Beza* hath noted, more importantly his *vetuſtiſſimus Codex*: whereunto I my ſelf alſo can bear him witneſs, that it is not to be found either in the *Greek* or *Latin*.

Cod. Antiqu. Evang. & Ad. Apoſt. ms. gr. lat. Arch. Bib. pub. Cantab.

But neither was it extant in the Ancient Copies of the *Septuagint*. That in the King's Library at S. *James*'s I confeſs to have wherewithal to bear out ſome repute of Antiquity, eſpecially if it ſhould be, as the Patriarch who ſent it over pretended, written by the hand of *Tecla*, a Diſciple of S. *Paul*'s. But the Menology (none of the worſt Remembrancers) maketh no mention of any ſuch Act of the Saint; and if it had, we know of what moment to make that kind of truſt.

Menolog. Sept. 24.

But

But ſuppoſe the *Cainan* λυτρω to have been extant in the Copies of S. *Paul*'s time, this will not be good enough ſecurity againſt the Teſtimony of *Beroſus* the *Chaldean*, a man of *Ptolemy Philadelph*'s own time; who, in his *Babyloniſh* Hiſtory, accounting the *Series* of the Patriarchs after the Flood, ſetteth down *Abraham* μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῇ δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ, *in the tenth Generation*; and therefore *Cainan* could not be reckoned upon: which moreover is confirmed by *Eupolemon*'s like Tradition of the ſame *Series*. Euſeb. Præf. Evang. lib. 9. p. 24.

This only doubt can be raiſed, whether *Beroſus*, though he publiſhed his Hiſtory after the times of the Tranſlation, yet might not compoſe it before, under the times of *Alexander*, which alſo were his. But if he did, then I ſay that he took the *Series* from that other ancienter *Greek* Tranſlation of the *Pentateuch*, mentioned by *Ariſtobulus*, and ſo the Teſtimony is the greater.

But the *Cainan* λυτρω was not extant in the *Septuagint* of S. *Paul*'s Time: If it had, *Theophilus Antiochenus* immediately following would not expreſly have left it out in his Epilogiſm. No more would *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, or *Euſebius* in theirs. And thoſe that know how the caſe ſtood betwixt S. *Hierom* and this Tranſlation, know he could not poſſibly have paſs'd it over, had it been to be found in the Copies of his Time. Theoph. Antioch. 3. Lib. ad Autolyc. Irenæ. Lib. Epiphan. Ep. 55.

But neither is it extant in the Vulgar Edition, the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, or the *Ruſſe* Bible, tranſlated out of the *Septuagint*, for there it is ארפכשד ילד את קינן וקינן ילד את עבר, *Arphaxad begat Sala, and Sala begat Eber*.

True it is, that I meet with this *Cainan* in two *Arabick* Verſions of the *Greek Pentateuch*, but evidently tranſlated ſince the corruption was ſet on foot. Mſ. in Arch. Bodleian. 5.

But it is of more moment than all this, that it never was nor could be in the Original, out of which the Elders tranſlated, and that by an invincible Note of the *Maſora* marked upon the place.

Nor did ever any Tranſlation out of the *Hebrew* acknowledge it. Not the *Targums* whatſoever; not the Vulgar *Latine*; not the *Spaniſh*, or the Vulgar *Greek*, both tranſla-

ted by the *Jews* themſelves, and Printed at *Conſtantinople* in *Hebrew* Letters; not the *Perſian* Paraphraſe by *Tawos*, the *Arabick* by *Saadiah Gaon*, or that other by the *Jews* in *Mauritania*, ſet forth by *Erpenius*.

But neither is the forgery conſtant to it ſelf; for though we meet ſtill with it in the Book of *Geneſis*, yet in the better Copies of the *Chronicles* it is not found, the Projector ſo much forgot himſelf.

Manifeſtly therefore both *Cainan* and the Numbers came in the wrong way; the deſign whereof, what it was, and managed by whom, I go about to ſhew.

In the firſt Verſe of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, the *Hebrew* א, ſtanding in their Arithmetick for a thouſand, is ſix times found. From hence the Ancient *Cabaliſts* concluded, that the World ſhould laſt ſix thouſand years: becauſe alſo God was ſix days about the Creation, and a thouſand years with him are but as one day; therefore after ſix days, that is ſix thouſand years duration of the World, there ſhall be a ſeventh day, or Millenary Sabbath of Reſt: concerning which *Juſtin Martyr* to *Tryphon* the *Jew*, Ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐν Ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τοῦ ἡμετέρου Χριστοῦ πιστεύσαντας σεσημάνται· that is, *And there is a certain man among us, whoſe name is John, one of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, who, in his Apocalyps, hath foretold of a thouſand years to be enjoyed in Jeruſalem, by thoſe which ſhall believe in our Chriſt.* The ſame alſo was aſſerted by *Papias*, Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, *Apolinarius*, and *Irenæus*, as S. *Hierom* in his Catalogue, and hath been of late days by very Learned men awaked out of a long ſleep, and even now is by ſome, to no good ends, more than enough reſented. Though this was wont to be one of the Reaſons why the *Revelation* was accounted but Ἀπόκρυφον τοῦ Ἰσαΐου, as *Gregory Nyſſen*, and not called by S. *John*'s, but the Heretick *Cerinthus* his name. Other aſperſions raiſed upon this Book by *Euſebius*, *Dorotheus*, *Dionyſius*, *&c.* are ſummed up by *Eraſmus*, and more forcibly urged than fully anſwered by *Beza*.

Gemara Tal. in Helec Sanhedr. fol. 97. a R. A. Zar. in Imr. Bine, c. 43.

In the Revelation made to him.

I may add, that the Canon of Scripture we go by, ground-

groundeth much upon that Enumeration ſubjoyned to the laſt Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which yet is not found in the very ancient Manuſcripts. *Gretſer* mentioneth one, and I meet with another here at home. Nor is it extant in *Joſeph*'s *Arabick Code*, where only the Canon of the Council is ſet down, with a Note upon the Idiotical Pſalms. And yet in the ſame *Code*, in the Apoſtolical Canons, contrary to the truſt of all the *Greek* Copies, it is

Synodic. Gr. Mſ. in Arch. Baroc. B. Bod.

حليان جوحنا الطسحي اجوغاليبسيس

Cod. Concil. Arab. Mſ. in Arch. Roan. B. Bod.

The Revelation of S. John, called the Apocalypſe; but immediately follow the Conſtitutions of *Clement*, and recommended to the Church upon as equal terms. In a Manuſcript *Arabick* Tranſlation of the New Teſtament in *Queens College*, onely this Book of the *Revelation* is wanting.

In the *Arabick* Lives of the four Evangeliſts, obſerved upon by *Kirſtenius*, the Note is, *Obſervandum quoq; eſt, hunc autorem nè verbo quidem uno mentionem facere* Ἀποκαλύψεως *D. Joannis, quam quidam hunc Evangeliſtam in Patmo ſcripſiſſe aſſerunt, quâ autoritate ipſi videant. Atque adèo ſemper iſte liber inter Apocrypha reputatus eſt.*

P. Kirſten. in Vit. 4. Evan. Arab. fol. 50.

But the Author doth make mention of the *Apocalypſe* in theſe words, وقبل ان جوحنا اصدي جو غ اهسيس عليخ قوخيل But this Period (ſaith *Kirſtenius*) *doctioribus hujus linguæ conſiderandum relinquimus.* I dare not own the *doctioribus*, but the Reading ſhould be اديفا اديسيس and the meaning is, *And the report goes, that S.* John *delivered up the Apocalypſe to his Diſciple* Phughir. So expreſs is the mention, and no ſtronger the Tradition.

But in derogation to a Book wherein too much may ſo ſoon be ſaid, at leaſt enough, be the Writing never ſo Canonical, the Argument is moſt intractable, and to the uſual reach of men ſo intricate and loſt in Myſtery, that unleſs the Times reveal faſter than yet they have done, no man will be found worthy to open and to read the Book, neither to look thereon.

Not

Chap. 5.4. Not to repeat over *Cajetan*'s Exponat *cui Deus conceſſerit*; *Calvin*, the man whoſe praiſe is in the Interpretation of the Word of God, *Sententiam rogatus de libro Apocalypſeos* (ſo *Bodin* reports him) *ingenuè reſpondit, ſe penitùs ignorare quid velit tam obſcurus Scriptor; qui qualiſq; fuerit nondum conſtat inſtar eruditos.*

Joh. Bodin. Meth. Hiſt. c.7.

But this later part of the Διυπέρωσις concerneth me not ſo pertinently as the former, that is, the ſix thouſand years duration of the World, unto which more than what was ſaid before muſt be added out of *Lactantius*, *Sicut ipſum hominem Deus die ſexto ultimum fecit, &c. ità nunc die ſexto magno verus homo verbo Dei fingitur*; that as God made man laſt in the ſixth day, ſo in the great ſixth day or Millenary of the World, the true Man was made by the Word of God.

Lactant. l.7. c.14.

He ſaith alſo, that mention was made of this Tradition by the Sibylline Oracles, the great *Hermes*, and the old *Hyſtaſpes* King of the *Medes*.

More expreſly *Clemens*, *Timotheus*, and *Theophilus*, as they are quoted by *Joannes Antiochenus Melala*. Τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς προεῖπεν ἡ γραφὴ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς ✝ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐνέπνευσε τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς δῆλον εἶ ὅτι ἵνα καὶ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς χιλιάδος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφάνη ὁ Δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ ἔσωσε τὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, that is, *That upon the ſixth day* (as the Scripture hath foreſaid) *God made man, and man fell by ſin; ſo upon the ſixth day of the Chiliad* (or ſixth Millenary of the World) *our Lord Jeſus Chriſt came into this World, and ſaved Man by his Croſs and Reſurrection.*

Joh. Antioc. Mſ. in Arc. Barr. Bib. Bod. Chronograp. l.10.

To the ſame purpoſe *Ælfric*, an Abbat of our own, in his Treatiſe of the Old and New Teſtament to *Sigwerd* of Eaſt *Hoolon*: Þ adam ȝe tacnuþe þeonðam ȝixtan dæȝe ȝeȝeapen pæȝ þuhþ ȝoð uȝne Gælenð cpiſt þe come to þiſſepe poȝulðe [on þæpe þixtan ýðe] ⁊ uſ ȝe e ðaipoðe to ðiſ ȝe licneſſe; *That Adam who was ſhapened by God upon the ſixth day, betokeneth our Saviour Chriſt, who came into this World (in the ſixth Age thereof) and renewed us after his own likeneſs.*

For this Duration of the World, I think it well enough retorted upon *Lactantius* by one of the *Jews*, לא ימחיר &c. לטא'נעיאן

האלהים לעשות כדעתך לא"נעיאן *that God hath not made haſte to do according to this ſaying*: for, as *Lactantius* computes, the time is already paſt and gone; and yet the World continues to be as in the days of old, *&c.* *R. Azarias* in *Imre Binah*, *c.*43. *fol.*142. though ſome of us Chriſtians have ſo little to do, and think our ſelves ſo well acquainted with the unſearchable ways of God, as to bid our Readers take it upon their Word: *Mundi hujus ætatem ſupra ſex millia annorum, tanquam certam & immotam metam quam Deus mundo, ſapienti & inſcrutabili conſilio determinavit, non excurſuram eſſe, &c.* And what will become of the Millenary Sabbath of Reſt, if the ſix thouſand years, whereon that depends, be of no weightier conſideration? Cunmannus Fliusbachius.

But to weaken or defend the Tradition I have no engagement upon me: It yieldeth me this Obſervation, That in the opinion of thoſe which held it, our Saviour was to come in the Fleſh in the ſixth Millenary of the World.

But by the *Hebrew* Account the Meſſiah was to come long before, as the Angel *Gabriel* propheſied, in the ſeventy Weeks determined upon that People.

It amounted therefore to this, That either the Tradition muſt come down to the Text, or the Text made to come up to that.

In the *Arabick Catena*, and there only, I find the Imputation laid upon the Original, فان اليهود قطعوا من اعمال وعبار فان سبك الستين سنة كفوا جهودهم المسيح اذيل بحرفهم كتبهم عن صبي السيد المسيح ح.

that is, *That the Jews cut off from the Ages of the World* 3600 *years, to conceal the Epiphany of Chriſt, that their Books might not convince them of the contrary, &c. Caten. Arab. c.*19.

I begin to think how readily *Morinus*, and others of the Romiſh Party, will reſent this Teſtimony. Learned men, I confeſs, but of a ſtrange brow, to pretend to the World, *Chronologiam juxta LXX. Interpretum numeros ſubductam, antiquis*

antiquis Hebræorum Codicibus videri conformem, That the Chronology computed according to the Numbers in the *Septuagint*, probably differeth not from the ancient *Hebrew* Copies.

But for the ſincerity of the *Hebrew* Text, the Foundation of God and Man ſtandeth ſure. And for that of *Julius Africanus* (the only thing which hath been urged to purpoſe in this cauſe) it ſhall be unexpectedly anſwered. *Julius Africanus* ſaith, that the *Jews* μὴ τῇ ἀληθεῖ διὰ τὸ Μωσέως πνεύματος διδαχθέντες, ἔκ τε τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν, &c. *themſelves delivered this Computation of years taught by the Spirit of God in Moſes, and out of the Hebrew Hiſtories, &c.* Not meaning, as *Morinus* would have him, that the *Greek* Account was drawn from the ancient Originals of *Moſes*, but as *Joannes Antiochenus*; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπον τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὡς Μωσῆς ἐξέθετο, σωτῆρος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο, Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μία ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡσὰ χίλια ἔτη, &c. οὕτω καὶ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς χιλιάδος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφάνη ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς, &c. Pſa. 90. Orat. Moſ. &c. *For like as God made Man in the ſixth day, as* Moſes *expounded, (who alſo hath it in his writings, That one day of the Lord is as a thouſand years, &c.) ſo in the ſixth Millenary day our Lord Jeſus appeared.*

And this was all *Moſes* had to do with it.

That the thing was done by the *Jews*, I deny not; but by thoſe, I mean the *Helleniſts*. And I take upon me, that the corruption proceeded not by ſubduction from the *Hebrew*, but the acceſſion to the *Greek* Scripture, and that it was done hard by the times of the Tranſlation, and to no other end than to what I pretended; which was to make the Accounts fall even with their Tradition of the Meſſia's coming in the ſixth Millenary of the World, as it falleth out by the Epilogiſms of *Demetrius*, cited by *Alexander Cornelius*; *Eupolemon*, cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*; *Timotheus*, and others, cited by *Joannes Antiochenus*, differing ſome from the reſt, ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει συμφωνοῦσιν ἅπαντες φανεῖσθαι τὸν Κύριον. &c. But all agree in this, that our Saviour came in the ſixth Chiliad. Euſeb. P. Evang. p. 248.

The diſtincteſt enumeration of this Account is that of *Theophil.*

Theophil. Antioch. before the insertion of the Καϊναν δευτερον. Ἀδὰμ ἐως ὅτε ἐτέκνωσεν, ἔζησεν ἔτη τλ'· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Σὴθ ἔτη σε'· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Ἐνὼς, ἔτη ρζ'· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Καϊναν, ἔτη ρο'· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Μαλελεὴλ, ἔτη ρξε'· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Ἰαρὲθ, ἔτη ρξβ'· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Μαθουσάλα, ἔτη ρπζ'· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Λάμεχ ρπη'· &c. That is,

Adam was 330 years old			*Seth*
Seth	205		*Enos*
Enos	190		*Cainan*
Cainan	170		*Malaleel*
Malaleel	165		*Jared*
Jared	162		*Enoch*
Enoch	165		*Methusala*
Methusala	187	when he begat	*Lamech*
Lamec	188		*Noah*
Noah	500		*Sem*
Sem	100		*Arphaxad*
Arphaxad	135		*Sala*
Sala	130		*Eber*
Eber	134		*Phalec*
Phalec	130		*Ragau.*

By this Account there passed from the beginning of the World to the 600 year of *Noah*'s life 2362 years; from thence to the 130 year of *Phalec* 529, which added to the former sum, make up from the beginning of the World to the same time 2891 years. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, &c. as the same Period of *Theophilus*. From the Flood to the time at which *Abraham* our forefather begat *Isaac*, 1036 years; from *Isaac* the son of *Abraham* to the sojourning of the People with *Moses* in the Wilderness, 660 years; from the death of *Moses* to the death of *David* the Patriarch, 498 years; from thence to the Captivity in *Babylon*, 518 years; from the beginning of *Cyrus* to the end of *Aurelius verus*, 744 years: that is, from the Flood to the death of *Aurelius*, 3456 years; to which if we add the 2362 years from the Creation to the Flood, the Total is 5818 years; Subtracting from thence 192 years, from the 42 of *Augustus*

to the death of *Aurelius*, our Saviour cometh into the World in the 626 year of the sixth Millenary.

But the Tradition, as otherwise delivered, will have it so, That our Saviour must come precisely at the sixth hour of the sixth day, or very middle of the sixth Millenary. So the *Arabick Catena*, الكنز المسيح الا اظنطم جقن حسنة الف وخمس مايه سنة ايقلس اتم حسى ما اوعدة قبال فى كلي حهسه اجلم وخفعي اجي اكلك واجلسك that is, *The Lord Christ was to be manifested after the end of* 5500 *Years for the Redemption of* Adam, *as he promised, saying unto him, The sixth day at noon I will come unto thee, and redeem thee.* Caten. Arab. ubi supra.

Cat. Arab. Mſ. in Arch. Bib. Bod.

And therefore *Euſtathius Antiochenus* obſerveth, That Chriſt was crucified in the ſixth hour of the ſixth day, τῷ λόγῳ σημαίνοντος τῆς ἕκτης χιλιάδος τὸ ἥμισυ, to intimate the middle of the ſixth Millenary.

The form of the Period (as it ſtandeth to this Alteration) is drawn up by the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, in his *Chronicon*: Διωδέχονται τὰ ἔτη ἅπαντα, &c. And the ὅλα ἔτη are ϛφ'. 5500.

So *Joannes Antiochenus*, *Euſebius*, the *Æthiopian* Calendar, &c.

But alſo the Tradition eſpecially required, that the 6000 years ſhould be equally divided by the times of *Phalec*, Φαλὲκ δὲ Ἑβραίοις μεσισμὸν λέγων, &c. ſaith *Euſtathius Antiochenus*, *Phalec* in the *Hebrew* ſignifieth *Diviſion*; and the time of the Words duration was divided by his days into ἰσαίτατα τεταρτήμια. And *Joannes Antiochenus* ἔστιν ὃν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ Φαλὲκ ἔτη γ'. κατὰ τὰ προφητείαν, *From Adam to Phalec* 3000 *years according to the Prophecy.* So *Cedren*, *p.* 12. *Suidas* in *Phalec*, and *Heſychius* in the Queſtion of *Anaſtaſius*.

Joan. Antioc. Mſ. lib. 2.

To reconcile the Numbers to this, it was proceeded after this manner:

By the Period of *Theophilus* the Interval from *Adam* to *Phalec* was 2891 years; to this 110 years were to be added.

First

First therefore, and to make it look the more unlike a cheat, they cut off 20 years from *Methusala*'s sum; and whereas *Theophilus* had reckoned him at 187, they set him down 167, as in some Copies it still standeth. Then it was from *Adam* to *Phalec* 2871 years. This done, they insert a new *Cainan*, assigning him 130 years, which added to the former sum, precisely maketh up 3001 years from *Adam* to the 130 year of *Phalec*. And therefore *Cainan* was not taken into the Seventy out of S. *Luke*, as the Learned *Grotius* prejudged, but contrarily: Which, how likely it might be done by such in whose opinion this Translation stood upon the same terms, as S. *Luke*'s Original, is not hard to be believed.

And yet the *Arabick Catena* can tell you the very day of this *Cainan*'s death: وبطل ماة قينان يوم الجمعة ثلاثة عشر من شهر ايلول اسبطوا اولاده ودفنوا وناحوا عليه اربعين يوما that is, *And Cainan died upon Friday the thirteenth of Elul, and his sons embalmed him, and buried him, and lamented over him forty days.* Caten. Arab. c. 32.

And they made him the Patriarch of a Nation, but agree not. *Eustathius Antiochenus*, Καϊνᾶ, ἀφ' ὃ Σογδιανοί, *of the Sogdians*; *Eusebius*, Καϊνᾶ, ἀφ' ὃ Γασφλωλ, *of the Gasphenians*; *Fasti Siculi*, Καϊνᾶ, ἀφ' ὃ Σαρματαλ, *of the Sarmatians*.

Cedren saith, Διοδεύων Καϊνᾶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἔυρε τὰ γεγραμμένα τῶν γιγάντων, &c. *That he read the Giants Books to the men of his time, which he found by chance as he was walking in the Fields.*

In *Eustathius Antiochenus* he is the Inventer of Augury and Astronomy; Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἡ Ἀστρονομία καὶ Οἰωνισμὸς ἐπινοήθησαν.

Glycas and *Georgius Syncellus* talk as if he had continued the Tables of *Seth*; and so I find it in a Manuscript Chronicle: Μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καϊνᾶς ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδ, σωσιγενέθλατο τὴν Ἀστρονομίαν, εὑρηκὼς ἐν τῇ Σὴθ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ὀνομασίαν τοῖς ἀστέρων ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίνῃ γεγραμμένων. *That after the Flood Cainan the Son of Arphaxad wrote Astronomy, having found* Anonym Chr. Mf. in Arch. Bar. Bib. Bod.

the Doctrine of the Stars written by Seth and his Sons in Tables of Stone.

But none of all this is due to *Cainan* the Son of *Arphaxad*, but to *Cainan* the Son of *Enos*, as I shall make to appear by as sound a Tradition as these, written back to *Aristotle* out of *India* from *Alexander the Great.*

See the Arab. Geogr. p. 23, 24. de Aloes; a like Tradition of Aristot. & Al. Sepher Juchasin, f. 3. b.

When I came (saith the King) into the Land of *Pharsaiacon, &c.* the Natives said unto me, ראה כי בתוך זה האי קבר מלך קדמון ושמו קינן בן אנוש שהיה קודם המבול *&c.* מילד עד כה העולם *Lo here in this Isle the Sepulchre of an ancient King, whose name was* Cainan, *the Son of* Enos, *who reigned over the whole World before the Flood. He was a wise man, and endued with all kinds of knowledge, and had power given him against the Spirits, Devils, and destroying Angels. This Man by his wisdom foresaw that the blessed God would bring a Flood upon the Earth, the Prophecy whereof he wrote in Tables of Stone, which here we have; and the Writing is Hebrew, &c.*

This is the right owner of those Parts and Inventions: That other *Cainan* was a man of the *Chiliasts* making, one with whom things stood all otherwise than with *Melchisedec.*

This man had neither beginning of days, or end of life, but in the Genealogies.

FINIS.

Episcopus Puerorum
IN DIE
INNOCENTIUM.

OR,

A Discovery of an Ancient Custom in the Church of *Sarum*, making an Anniversary Bishop among the CHORISTERS.



LONDON,
Printed for *T. Williams*, at the *Bible* in *Little Britain*, 1671.

Episcopus Puerorum
IN DIE
INNOCENTIUM:
OR,
A Discovery of an Ancient Custom in the Church of *Sarum*, making an Anniversary Bishop among the Choristers.

IN the Cathedral of *Sarum* there lieth a Monument in Stone of a little Boy habited all in Episcopal Robes, a Mitre upon his Head, a Crosier in his Hand, and the rest accordingly.

The Monument lay long buried it self under the Seats near the Pulpit, at the removal whereof it was of late years discovered, and translated from thence to the North part of the *Nave*, where it now lieth betwixt the Pillars, covered over with a Box of Wood, not without a general imputation of Rarity and Reverence, it seeming almost impossible to every one, that either a *Bishop* could be so small in *Person*, or a *Child* so great in *Clothes*.

Having consulted with the most likely men I knew (whereabouts I then was) to what moment of Antiquity this could refer, the Answer still was, That they could not tell; and from one too from whom it seldom used to be so; the late Learned Bishop *Mountague*, who also earnestly appointed

appointed me to make further inquiry after the thing, not doubting but that there would be something in the matter at least of curious, if not substantial, observation.

Returning therefore from thence by *Sarisbury*, I obtained a perusal of the old *Statutes* of that Church, intending afterwards to have looked over the *Leiger-Books*. But finding in the *Statutes* a Title *De Episcopo Choristarum*, concerning the Chorister-Bishop, I began to think my business was well-nigh done already; and indeed a circumstance of the Chapter directed me to their Processional, and so I came to perceive that the meaning of the Monument was thus.

MATTH. II. XVI.

Then Herod, when he saw that he was mock-of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem and in all the coasts, from two years old and under, according to the time, &c.

THe Monument is altogether concerned in the memory of this *Massacre*. First therefore a little shall be said of that, and then something of the day it self.

Here not to give *Herod* so many ill words neither as some do, and yet as an aggravation of the foulness of this Murther, and by the insolence of the Martyrdom to excuse the Holy-day, it will at least be to some purpose to observe a little of the ancient Reverence and Holiness of Children.

The Title of the Day remembreth them by a full and proper expression of Innocency. 'Twas impossible to Christen the Feast more incomparably. The word *Innocency* is of a vast reputation, and yet dares not signifie any thing here below but the state of the first Man, and that of Children, and therefore thus far suffer them to come unto you, and forbid them not.

He

He muſt needs have little of a Man, nothing at all of God in him, that could break into a Circle of ſuch harmleſs and undefended *Simplicity*.

The *Jews* themſelves thought nothing fit to be a murtherer of this kind but a Devil, and a She-one too, that the fearfulneſs of the Sex might diſpoſe to more unruly and more barbarous reſolutions of Inhumanity.

This Shee-devil they call by the name of *Lilith*. It is taken from the Night; for ſo the word ſignifieth firſt. And it will be ſomething to you when you remember your ſelf of that ordinary ſuperſtition of the old Wives, who dare not intruſt a Child in the Cradle by it ſelf alone, without a Candle. You muſt not think thoſe People know what they do, and yet you may perceive their ſilly ways to derive from an Original much better and more conſiderable than can be gueſſed at from their prone and uninſtructed way of performance.

That which we read *Job* 1. 15. *And the Sabeans fell upon them, &c.* in the *Hebrew* is, *And Seba came* ('tis a hard Book that:) the *Syriack* Tranſlation is, *Et irruerunt Latrones*, And the *Arabs* or Thieves came in upon them: But the *Chaldee* rendreth, לילית מלכת זמרגד *That Lilith the Queen of Smargad came, &c.* And *Elias* in his *Methurgeman* ſaith that והיא שמה מדינת שבא נקרא בלשונם זמרגד *This was a city of the Sabeans, called in their Language by the name of Smargad*; and that this *Lilith* was שם שדה חחורגות חילדים *a kind of ſhe-devil which killed children*. The Gloſs to *Nidda* ſaith ſo too, and deſcribeth her to have wings, and an humane face. You may hear more of this Fairy Queen, if you can meet with that Edition of *Ben Sira*, which was printed by the *Jews* at *Conſtantinople*, with the Books of *Tobit*, the Book of *Zorobabel*, *&c.*

Aben Ezra מנחה שבא Caſtra Seba.

Gloſſa Talmud in Nidda, fol. 24. b.

By this Diſcourſe, how ſlight ſoever it may ſeem to be, I ſhall be able to attain my ſerious end. For, for this reaſon, as eſpecially as any other, the *Hebrew* women, as * lively as they were wont to be, yet now in dread of this *Hobgoblin* ſolemnly obſerve this Cuſtom (Enchantment you may call it) at this very day.

* Exod. 1. 19.

When the Great-bellied Woman's time is come, the Father of the Family, or for want of him some Holy Man or other, (for this is required too) is desired to come to the Room where the Woman is to lie in, and then and there he is to draw a Circle upon the several Walls of that Place, and upon the Doors, both within and without, and moreover also about the Bed, *&c.* and he is to inscribe these words, אדם חוה חוץ לילית *Adam, Chavah, Chuts, Lilith*; that is, *Adam, Eve, Cuts Lilith*: And so the Child is thought to be sufficiently defended.

The Heathen Stories of their *Strix*, as our own later ones of the *Lamiæ*, (they are the same) I let pass. Onely I stay to wonder that it should be their black business to kill Children, seeing that the principal Preparations whereby they exercise are made either of the Skin or Flesh of a Child. Of the Skin they make their Virgin-parchment, a thing of great importance as to them, and in which all their Spells and Charms are to be written. Of the Flesh decocted to a Jelly they make their Unguents, with which they do things of so rare and unreasonable consequence. This practice of theirs, as maliciously bad as it is, yet more and more confesseth to my purpose the secret strength of Innocency, and sanctity of Children.

Therefore by the greatest right of Nature these Infants ought to have been proof against the most barbarous and unhappy hand.

But you will marvel the less (and the more too) when this is added to it, That *Herod*'s own Son was one of the Company.

The Scripture indeed maketh not this mention; but yet you have it from a very good hand: *Cùm audivisset Augustus, inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait, Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium.* When *Augustus Cæsar* (saith *Macrobius*) had heard that *Herod* the King of the *Jews* his own Son was one of those Children, which from two years old and under were commanded by him to be slain in *Syria*, he said, 'Twere better to be *Herod*'s Hog than his Son. *Macrob. Saturnal. l. 2. c. 4.*

Sixtus

Sixtus Senenſis quoteth this Anſwer of *Auguſtus* out of *Dion Caſſius* his *Roman* Hiſtory in the Life of this Emperour, but I do not find it there. Sixtus Senenſ. Bibliothec. ſanctæ, l. 7.

The ſame Author quoteth this paſſage out of *Philo Judæus* his Chronography; *Herodes Aſcalonita anno trigeſimo principatûs ſui tyrannici Sanedrim ex domo David delevit, & Annalæum quendam atque alios Sanedrim ex proſelytis ſuffecit, qui nimirum videbantur in Lege eruditi; tum & Salomen ſororem ſuam, & virum ejus de tribu Juda, itémque proprium filium, quem ex uxore ejuſdem ſuſceperat, interfecit, quòd diceretur jam in Lege promiſſus Chriſtus natus.* Only the laſt words are to the purpoſe, *Itémque proprium filium, &c.* That *Herod* killed his own Son too, becauſe it was reported that Chriſt, who was promiſed in the Law, was now born.

If this were the reaſon, it ſeemeth a little to reflect upon the matter of the Innocents.

But indeed if the Story had been fully and expreſly ſet down, it muſt have gone for nothing; for this is but that *Philo* which (with others of the like pretended Authority, *Beroſus, Metaſthenes, &c.*) *Annius* the Monk hath ſo lately obtruded to this World. But the impudent forgeries of this fellow the learned *Joſeph Scaliger, Sethus Calviſius, &c.* have very quickly and ſufficiently chaſtiſed.

And yet this ignorant man is as reverently quoted by Rabbi *Azarias* in his *Meor Enaiim*, as if he had written the *Wiſdom of Solomon*. Meor Enaiim, fol. 89. &c.

But the ſtrangeſt thing indeed is, that *Joſephus* himſelf ſhould take no notice of this matter, not only not of the ſaying of *Auguſtus*, but nothing neither of the killing of the Children; a paſſage very unexpectedly omitted by ſo great a Courtier and ſo good an Hiſtorian, eſpecially one that ſpared not to ſet forth the reſt of *Herod*'s indignities to the full.

It is enough to draw ſome doubt upon the Tradition of *Macrobius*. *Joſeph Scaliger* believeth it all; but yet his wonder is, that *Auguſtus* ſhould make ſuch a return upon *Herod*, ſeeing that he himſelf did the murther, not only upon this, but upon all the three Sons. I do not perceive that the

learned man hath cause enough. *Herod* did but cast the envious part upon the Emperour, (and officiously too) but left the main and principal guilt upon his own head, and therefore nevertheless to all this the Emperour might very fitly retort as he did, That it were better to be *Herod*'s Hog than his Son.

But what Son of *Herod*'s could this be? It must be *Antipater*, or it must be none. But *Antipater* was more a Man than to be reckoned among the Children of two years old and under. And moreover than that, *Antipater* was not at *Bethlehem*, nor thereabouts, at that time.

I know not upon what terms to make this hold, unless it may be thus.

Herod had obtained of *Augustus* the killing of two Sons already, and now sollicited for the third. It was presently upon the killing of the Infants that *Herod*'s Messengers came to *Rome* with the Accusations of his Son *Antipater*, and so both the Passages came to the Emperour's ear at the same time, and this later for the nearness was misreckoned into the bargain.

There is another Circumstance or two which make the Murther so much the more concerning.

One is,

(You must not take it for a thing done: but therefore the ὡς of the Expression is the greater.)

Now the dead did bury the dead. This blood cried so loud that *Rachel* heard it in the Grave, and rose to execute the Funerals.

Jer. 31.15. Mat. 2.18. *In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not.*

But why *Rachel*? And why should this Voice be heard in *Rama*?

Note here the situation of *Rachel*'s Tomb out of the *Arabick Nubian* Geographer.

Geog. Arab. Nubiens. clim. 2. part. 5. p. 115. *At verò Bethlehem, locus videlicet ille in quo natus est Christus, distat ab Hierosolymis sex millibus passuum, & è media via ista habetur sepulcrum Rachel, matris Joseph & Benjamin, filiorum*

rum Jacob, quibus ſalus. Huic ſepulcro duodecim ſunt lapides impoſiti, impendètque teſtudo lapidea concamerata, &c. So the *Maronites* in their Tranſlation.

Bethlehem, to wit the place where Chriſt was born, is diſtant from *Jeruſalem* ſix miles; and in the middle way there ſtandeth the Sepulcre of *Rachel*, the mother of *Joſeph* and *Benjamin*, the Sons of *Jacob*, upon whom be health. The Sepulcre is erected of twelve Stones, and an Arch of Stone above, *&c.*

So the Geographer.

This was in the Tribe of *Juda*, but confining upon that of *Benjamin*, where *Rama* was. רחל *Rachel* in the Oriental Languages ſignifieth a *Sheep*, or *Lamb*: and ſo an *Innocent* was very fitly called up to mourn over theſe *Infants*, who died in the cauſe of the Lamb of God.

And the voice of this lamentation was heard in *Rama*, becauſe *Rama* was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Benjamin was that Son of whom *Rachel* died in Childbed; and though his Father gave him this name, yet his Mother would have had him called *Ben-oni*, or the Son of Sorrow.

The next is,

That though otherwiſe there is a large Indictment of Inhumanities againſt this Tyrant, yet his miſerable and uncommon death is rather imputed to the ſhedding of this (though much of the reſt was his own) bloud.

That this World and he parted by an unuſual courſe of mortality, and by the Judgment of God too, (at leaſt in common reputation) *Joſephus* is clear.

Severe execution being done upon the two Sophiſters and their Scholars for pulling down the Golden Eagle, which (to acknowledge the *Roman* Empire) *Herod* had ſet up upon the greateſt Gate of the Temple, ἔνθεν ἀπὸ τὸ σῶμα σὺν ἡ νόσῳ διαλαβοῦσα, ποικίλοις πάθεσι διεμοιρίζετο· πυρετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἠλάβρου, κνησμὸς ἢ ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπιτασείας ὅλης, καὶ κώλυε σωμαχεῖς ἀλγηδόνας, περί τε τοὺς πόδας ἄσπερ ὑδρωπιῶντος οἰδήματα, τό τε ὑπεῖδιον φλεγμονή, καὶ δι' αἰδοίου σηπεδὼν σκώληκας γεννῶσα· πρὸς τούτοις, ὀρθόπνοια, καὶ δυσπνοια, καὶ πασμὸς πάντων τῶν μελῶν· ὥστε τὸν ἔσθοντας

ζοντας

ζοντας τοιῦτο ἐξ ἧς σοφισῶν τὸ νοσῆμα λέσαν. That is, *Henceforth he was taken with a disease, which seising upon the whole state and habit of his body, tormented him exceeding severally. A Fever he had, but not of any acute kind: an insufferable Prurigo over all his body, with continual tortures of the Colon. By the Tumors about his feet you would judge him to be Hydropical. To this, a strange inflammation of the lower Belly, and such a putrefaction of the Genitals as bred Worms. Moreover than this, a shortness and difficulty of breathing, with a Convulsion of all the Parts. This moved those of that time who pretended to know the mind of God, to give out that these diseases were inflicted upon Herod for his murther of the Sophisters, &c.*

Josephus hath a fuller Tradition of this Event, *chap.* 8. of the 17. Book of his Antiquities. And if you consider the common Translations of both, you will find it fit that this other should be set down here too. The matter will not onely be to turn the *Greek*, but (if it may be) to render it so, that especially the words may signifie a distinct and artificial description of *Herod*'s Disease, as *Josephus* meant, and indeed expresst it like himself.

I do not threaten here to do very much neither. This I am sure of; the Translatours understood the matter but meanly, (and yet one of them was a Physician too.) I will do what I can towards that I pretend to, and leave what is like enough to be wanting, to those whom it may more properly concern.

Josephus his other words are these:

Ἡρῴδην δὲ μειζόνως ἡ νόσος ἐπιτρέπετο, δίκαιον ὂν ἐξηγορεύεσθαι ἐπιφανομένην τῷ Θεῷ. Πῦρ μὲν γὰρ μαλακὸν ἦν, ἔκ τε πολλὴν ἀποσιτίαν τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις τιν φλέγμασι, ἀπόνοιαν τοῖς ἔντοσθε σπλάγχνοις τιν κάκωσιν· ἐδυσμενὴς δὲ ἦν ἡ δέξασις τῷ ἀέρι αὐτῷ, ἐπὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐνεργῶν· ἐφ' ἕλκωσιν δὲ τὸ ἔντερον, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κόλον δεινὰ ἀλγηδόνες, καὶ φλέγμα ὑγρὸν περὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ δυσγής. Παρεπλήσιον δὲ, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον κάκωσις ἦν καὶ μῦν καὶ τοῖς αἰδοίοις σῆψις σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα, πνεύ-

* γρ. ὑποροῆς. ματός τε ὀξεῖα ἔντασις, καὶ ἄυπνία ἀπόνος· ἀχθηδόνι τε τῆς * ἀποτρεχῆς, καὶ τοῦ πυκνοῦ τοῦ ἄσθματος, ἐπασσιθίῳ τε περὶ πᾶν ἦν μέρος ἰσχνὸν ἐχ ἐπιμονητὴν σφηδόνα. Ἐλέγετο ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ διαζέντων, καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προσαπορρίγησις σοφία προσῆκεν, πονῆν τὸ πολλὸ

πολλῶ δυσεβῶς ταύτλω ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερβολὴν μετὰ τὸ βασιλέως.

But the Diſeaſe of Herod *grew yet more bitterly violent, God exacting this judgment of his enormities upon him. He had a gentle Fever, that is, not expreſſing it ſelf ſo much to the outward touch and feeling, as more grievouſly burning him within: A ſtrange appetite and deſire ſtill to take ſomething in, but nothing would ſtay with him: An Ulcer of the Entrails, with hard Conflictations, eſpecially of the Colick Gut: A Phlegmatick humour appeared about his Feet, and ſhining too. More than this, the Diſeaſe had got about the lower Belly; and more than that, there was a putrefaction of his Genitals, and it bred Worms: An* Orthopnœa, *or ſhortneſs of breath, and that alſo very unpleaſant: A troubleſom flux of Rheum, which cauſed a perpetual* Aſthma: *And the Patient not having ſtrength to reſiſt theſe things, there followed a Convulſion of all the parts. It was ſaid therefore by the Divines of that time, and thoſe which it then ſtood upon to give holy judgment of theſe things, that the hand of God was upon the King, to puniſh him for his ſo often-repeated horrible offences.*

Here I muſt tell you though, that I do not ſee any ſuch extraordinary moment or manner of fatality in this diſſolution.

The Diſeaſe indeed was eſpecially complicate of a Dropſie and a Dyſentery. The *Orthopnœa, Dyſpnœa, Spaſms, &c.* nay, the Fever it ſelf too, for ought I know, were but accidents of one or both.

The Dyſentery (νῆσος χαλεπὴ ἡ ὑπὸνδρωος) was (and the worſe therefore) eſpecially in the κῶλον. The Dropſie was of that kind which from the faſhion of the Inflammation is called *Aſcites*: ἄσκος or ἀσκίον ſignifieth (as *Galen* ſaith to *Hippocrates*) τὸ κάτω χωρίον τῆς γαστρὸς ὅσον ὑπὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ αἰδοίου ἡ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ, *the lower region of the Belly comprehended between the Navel and the Genitals.* There the Inflammation was, and it was δυσηὲς, as the Tradition ſaith; therefore the Dropſie was of that kind which I ſaid, and of a malignant ſtate. Hippocr. de victus ratione, li. 3. ſect. 4.

There is nothing makes the matter look ſo like a judgment as the σηπεδὼν τοῦ αἰδοίου καὶ λήγας γενῶσι. But this Putrefaction

faction of the Genitals might very possibly be an accident of the Dropsie, this kind especially. If it were not, it might be otherwise natural enough; and you may hear of it in *Hippocrates*, and in the very same words used by *Josephus* here, ἡ σαπέδων ἀπὸ αἰδοίων. *Aphori. li.3. §.7. Aph.21.*

And yet you shall see how this Tradition hath improved it self under the Christians hands; Ἡρώδης ὑδέρῳ δεινῷ παθεὶς, σκώληκας ἐκ ἐκβρόας ἀπὸ σώματος, ἡ σαπὰς ὅλου κατασήψει τὸν βίον, ποινὴν δικαίαν τίσας αὐθ' ὧν ἀμφὶ Βηθλεὲμ ἀνεῖλε παιδίων τὸν Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἕνεκα· that is, *And* Herod *being struck with a grievous dropsie, the whole state of his body corrupted, and the Worms crawled out. Thus he departed this life, receiving a just vengeance of that murther which he committed upon the children in Bethlehem for our Saviour's sake.* Chronicon Alexan. p.488

Cedren hath it out of another Author, that this *Herod* was famously known by the name of Παιδοκτόνος, *the Child-slayer*. *Herod* might be so called for the killing of his own Sons.

But I wonder where the Author had this.

Indeed *Eusebius* himself hath said more than comes to his share as to this matter; even he also accuseth *Herod* of this horrible Disease, and chargeth it upon the murther of the Children: but (which was the sleepiness of the forgery) he quoteth *Josephus* for it too.

Our own *Ælfric* the Abbat as unadvisedly, who having told the Story, closeth it up with this rash doom upon *Herod*, ⁊ ꝥe yfela cining, *and the wicked King died miserably*. *Photius* hath delivered it more expressly bad, and to no sense of Traditional belief. I know there is a kind of well-meaning in these devout Lies, but no more acceptable to him whom it seemeth to concern, than the *cutting off of a dog's neck*. The Christian Interest is more absolute and sufficient of it self, than to need a Supererogation of this kind.

The simplicity of *Joannes Antiochenus* is more useful here than the judgment of *Eusebius*. He telleth the History of the Children out of the Scripture it self, and then maketh this end of *Herod*'s matters out of *Clemens* the Chronographer; Καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐυδίως ὁ Ἡρώδης πάθει αἰδίτου, σκωληκόβρυτος

κόλεως ἐγρώστο, καὶ ἀπέθανεν· that is, *And immediately* Herod *being taken with an incurable Diſeaſe, was eaten up of worms, and ſo died. Joan. Antioch. Melala Chronog. lib.* 10. *Mſ. in Arch. Baroccian. Bib. Bodleianæ.*

But this *Herod the Great* was not eaten up of Worms neither; there's a difference betwixt σκώληκας ἐμποιῆσα, or ψωρῶσα, and σκωληκόβρωτος. This indeed was the Diſeaſe of which the other *Herod* died; *Antiochus* died ſo too; and both by the plain and viſible judgment of God: the which where it is not very notably and convincingly revealed, it were good to make as little uſe of our own Augury as we can. Acts 12. 2 Maccab. 9.

In the other *Herod*'s caſe, S. *Luke* ſaith that an Angel ſtruck him. This Angel in *Joſephus* is but an Owl, βυβῶνα ἄγγελον· and a *German* Southſayer had told the King as much before. *Antiqu. l.*18.*c.*8. But of this in a more proper place.

But if *Herod the Great* had been σκωληκόβρωτος, or eaten up of Worms, and by the judgment of God too; is it to be thought that this judgment looked aſquint upon all the reſt of this King's enormities, and caſt a full eye only upon the Maſſacre of the Children?

This is but to deliver up *Herod* to Satan here, that his Soul might be ſaved in the day of the Lord. Would you have ſuch a man thus taken from the evil to come? Rather than ſo, if you would have a damnation upon *Herod* that ſleepeth not, let him have his portion in this life; let him die the death of the righteous, and let his laſt end be like his.

Though he may ſeem to you to be never ſo much pluck'd off from God's right hand, yet you do not ſee that this man was written Childleſs: though he had drank ſo deep of the blood of Innocents, ſtill there was one left, and one of his own Race too, to ſit upon the Throne of *Jury*. You are not to reckon of theſe things according to your own angry way of vengeance. The right *profligati homines*, and thoſe that are notoriouſly engaged, eſpecially in intereſted impieties, are moſt uſually condemned to proſper here, that they may be the more ſecretly and juſtly reſerved to the blackneſs and darkneſs of their own other World.

But if you will now, *Herod* shall be left in the very same case that you would have him.

Let it be so, that he was judged here, that he might not be condemned hereafter; or, let both be true; ('tis so sometimes:) then I believe with you that the doom did as principally and immediately reflect upon this murther of the Innocents, as upon any of all the rest.

There is an aggravation in the number too, at least if the account be honestly given up to our hands.

Menolog. Decemb. 29. Antholog. f. 132. a.

The *Greek* Tradition in the Rubrick to the Day is, ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς χιλιάδες εἰσί. *That it was no less than fourteen thousand.* The *Æthiopick* Church reckoneth of as many in their Missal Memorials.

I know not what to say to this; but, if it be so, then *Thou Bethlehem Ephratah art not so little among the thousands of Juda, Mich.* 5, 2.

It will not be much beside the matter, if here I remember you of this Story:

The Town of *Hamel* in the Duchy of *Brunswick* was exceedingly pestered with Rats. There happened to come to Town a roguy Fidler, who undertook presently to quit the place of all the Vermin, upon condition to receive such a sum of Money for his pains. The Burgers agreed. The Fidler betook him to his Pipe, at the sound whereof the Rats came all forth, and followed the fellow quite through the Town to the River *Weser*, where they were all drown'd. The Piper (the *Py'd Piper* they call'd him) came to demand his money: but the sum was now thought to be too much, especially the thing being done so easily too, and so unexpectedly; yet they allotted him a good sufficient reward: but the fellow would have his Bargain, all or none; or else he would come by it as he could. They bid him take his course. The fellow set his Pipe to his mouth, and to work again as before; and all the Children followed him out of the Town to the Vale of *Koppenburgh*, where the Mountain seemed to open and receive in these little ones into a prepostrous womb, and so closed up again. But certain it is, that it was never yet heard of where or how that Earth

Earth delivered her ſelf of theſe Children again. The number of the little ones was 130; and the thing was done in Sermon-time upon the 26 of *June*, in the year 1284, as *Sethus Calviſius* out of the Annals of the Place.

The ſpecial reaſon why this Story is here ſet down, is that which follows. In the memory of this diaſter the men of *Hamel* date all their publick matters eſpecially from this *Exodus*, or going forth of the Children, ſetting it down next to the Year of our Lord.

Ammianus Marcellinus telleth of two that ſuffered unjuſtly under the tyranny of *Valentinian*, *Quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc uſque Chriſtiani, locum ubi ſepulti ſunt, Ad Innocentes appellant:* whoſe memories the Chriſtians at *Milane* do yet celebrate, and the place where they lie buried is called *The Innocents*. Theſe two laſt Digreſſions were not intended to be miſtaken, but by this unintereſted diſguiſe, the more to juſtifie the Celebrations of theſe our own Innocents indeed: the ſeveral practices of whoſe memories I would have here taken as they are received, and they ſhall be more juſtly than affectionately delivered. Ammia. Marcellin. lib. 27. p. 369, 370. Edition. Lindenbrogian.

Brochardus in his Deſcription of the Holy Land pointeth you to the very place where theſe Infants were ſlain; *Item* (ſaith he) *oſtenditur locus occiſionis Innocentium puerorum.*

Adrichomius and others tell you of a Chappel there about *Bethlehem* dedicated to their memory, and under that a Vault in the which theſe little Bodies lie buried.

The Deſcription of this Vault you have in the *Viaggio di Venetia al Santo Sepolcro*: *Verſo l' oriente gli é un altra grotta, ouero caverna, giu baſſa & ſtretta, ordinata in modo d' una Croce, e quì furono ſepolti gli Santi Innocenti, &c. Ancora ne ſepelirono una parte di detti Innocenti fra Bethlehem & Bethania, otto miglia, lequali ſepolture ſe vedono ancora hoggi di:* that is, Eaſtward there is another Grot or Cavern lying low underneath, and the paſſage very narrow; it is contrived into the faſhion of a Croſs, and here (ſome of) the Holy Innocents lie buried: another part of them lie buried in the way betwixt *Bethlehem* and *Bethany*, for a matter of eight miles diſtance; and their Sepulcres are to be ſeen to th s very day.

This is all the Local memory of these Infants I meet with; and 'tis more too than the good *Arabick Nubian Geographer* had heard of.

The Day. § For their Anniversary Remembrances concerned in time, I do not find their Day among the ancient Holy ones.

There is a *Greek* Apostolical ('tis call'd so) Institution of the Church-Holy-days: 'tis true, they are but few there; indeed they could not be many as then. This bloody seed of the Church was not yet so much cast upon the ground.

The *Greek* Enumeration acknowledgeth and appointeth S. *Stephen*'s Day to be kept Holy; but of the *Innocents* no mention there at all.

The *Arabick* Translation of this Constitution hath more Holy-days than the Original, and the *Hypapante* for one.

And you are to rest (say they) في عيد الايبوبنتي

هكذا تقول انت المسيح الهك

פי עיד אלאיבובנתי אלדי הו דחול אלסיד אלמשיח לאלהיכל *upon the Festival (called)* Aibubanti, *and that is the entrance of the Lord Christ into the Temple.* Constitut. Arab. Mſ. fol. 67. a.

Codex Concilior. Arab. Josep. Ægypt. Mſ. in Archiv. Roan. Bibl. Bod.

This Holy-day is called in the *Roman* Church *Purificatio B. Mariæ*; we call it so too, and from the *Saxons Candlemas-day*. Here the *Arabick Greek* word *Aibubanti* (ايبوبنتي) seemeth to betray the trust of the Translator, and therefore though it fall not so directly within my business, yet it is not to be let go.

Meursii Glos. in ايبوبنتي.

It passeth unexcepted against, that this Holy-day was first made at *Constantinople*, and no sooner than the times of *Justinian* the Emperour. If it should be so, the *Arabick* Constitution doth not so providently begin with *Ego Petrus & Paulus, &c.* as the *Greek*; and then afterwards insert a Holy-day of *Justinian*'s making, which was no less than 500 years after.

But to make up this as well as I may.

It is certain that the *Arabick* Translator followed some other *Greek* Copy than that which is now most usually received.

It

It is certain also that this very Holy-day was very anciently and immemorially observed in the *Æthiopick*, the *Coptick*, and the *Syriack* Churches, *&c.* and by the name of دخول الرب or *Ingressus Domini*, the entrance of the Lord into the Temple. So that for the Thing and Celebration, it is absolutely old enough, if not Apostolically so; yet however (and which is the matter) much deeplier engaged in Antiquity than the times of *Justinian*. But for the *Greek* word here in the *Arabick* disguise, it is not so ready to give a just account. And yet if I should say that the *Greek* word were as ancient as the thing, though not in use and solemnity at *Constantinople* till those very times of *Justinian*, I know not what any Man could haply say to the contrary.

And so I have discharg'd the Translator as I could: but as to my own matters, it is to be confessed here, that though the *Arabick* Constitution maketh more Holy-days than the *Greek*, yet it maketh no reckoning of *Innocents-day* at all: neither indeed do I find this Festival in any of the Eastern Almanacks.

For however there be Lessons appointed for this Day set down at the end of some *Syriack* Translations (as well Manuscript as Printed) of the New Testament, yet the Holy-day is not to be found in the *Antiochian* Kalendar. Novum Testamentum Syriacum in Archiv. Bib. Bodleian.

And though the *Æthiopick* Church in the celebration of their *Corban*, or *Communion*, useth to make a very solemn and devout Memorial of these *Innocents*; yet there is no Day assigned to them in the Kalendar of that Church. Neither was it to be look'd for; for the *Coptick* Almanack it self (which is known to prescribe to this other) hath it not neither. Athanasius Kirch. Grammat. Copt. sect. 6. cap. 3. pag. 332.

Indeed none of all these Kalendars acknowledge more than seven or eight Holy-days throughout the whole year; that is, the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity*, the *Epiphany*, *&c.* *Præter hæc Festa celebranda alia non invenio*; More than these I find not, saith one, (and of the *Roman* Interest too.) It is his Note to the *Coptick* Kalendar, and the reason importeth alike for all the rest. 'Tis true, I can tell you of an *Arabick* Kalendar

Alkas Cyriac. Tab Astron. Arab. Mſ. in Archiv. Laudin. Bib. Bod.

Kalendar of *Alkás* at the end of his Astronomical Tables, where I find this Day put down under the name and title of قتلة أطفال *Occisio Puerorum*, or, The Murther of the Infants. But I can perceive too that this Kalendar is not very ancient, as well by the Memory of S. *Chryſoſtom* there in theſe words, زمان جوحنا فم ذهبي that is, *The death of John of the Golden mouth* (as the Eaſtern men uſe to call this Father, and he is often ſo quoted in the *Arabick Catena*:) as alſo by an evident plainneſs of the *Roman* engagements there, not only from the very great number of Holy-days, but of ſuch too as expreſly belong to the Relation, and the (late too) Inſtitution of that Church.

Here I do not mean to ſit as Judge upon the Holy-days, as concerning their *number* or *manner* of Celebration: I mean only to ſpeak to you a few words of peremptory and indifferent truth.

1. That in the moſt Primitive and Apoſtolical times the Kalendars yielded up but a very ſhort and only principal account of Saints and Martyrs; yet (which is to be noted by ſomebody) the Nativity of Chriſt is always one, and one of the chiefeſt: and moreover than that, the *Saturday* and *Sunday* (would you have me call them both *Sabbath-days*, or, which is worſe, that which was the eighth, the ſeventh day?) were held in equal reverence of Keeping and Obſervation.

2. That the reaſon why ſo few Saints-days were obſerved in and about the firſt times, how ſubſtantial ſoever as for that preſent and exigency, yet draweth no neceſſary example upon us, were it not that the Eaſtern Churches in a full body had left the matter to this day at the very ſame rate as they found it then, without making any conſiderable addition to that ſmall number any where, and in the moſt ſet and leading places, (as the *Coptick*, *Antiochian* Churches, *&c.*) none at all.

3. That it is moſt likely, that in the Times immediately ſucceeding to thoſe which are granted for Primitive, the remembrance

membrance of Saints and Martyrs was practiſed but in groſs, at the ſolemn confeſſionary Commemorations of all together in the Memorial part of their Communion, and this onely by a naked rehearſal of their Good Names (as at the firſt) without any appointment of particular Days to this or that Saint. The flying tracks of theſe Commemorations you may diſcover in our own lateſt reformed Liturgies; or, if you would ſee it nearer to the top of Time, then let your recourſe be to the *Æthiopick* Miſſal: you may ſee that in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; or, if you be curious, and would ſee it ſomewhat more Original, you may read (that is, this part of it) in the *Prodromus Coptus*, *c.* 2. *de Copt. moribus*, *p.* 37. & 38.

4. Laſtly, That the firſt aſſignment of theſe Remembrances in groſs, to ſet and ſingle Days, and increaſment too to ſo notorious a bulk, was very probably the deſign of the *Greek*, but much more eſpecially of the *Latin* Church; and for the moſt part not ſo anciently neither as to be reflected upon with any commanding or convincing reverence, nay not done (when it was) to that juſt and clear purpoſe as would be wiſhed for in this caſe.

'Tis true, the blood of theſe Innocents was dear and precious in the ſight of God, and like that of all his Saints. * The day of ones Death is better than that of ones Birth, as by an excellent abuſe of Expreſſion the Church hath very well rendred the place: But do you think that a report of this kind will make theſe Bones fat? (*Prov.* 15. 30.) your ſelves it may.

So Meurſius his Gloſſar in Ναπάλια.

* Eccl. 7. 3.

'Tis true too, that a Good Name is better than precious Ointment, (*Eccl.* 7. 3.) But do not you know that theſe dead Flies (with reverence to your Saints be it ſpoken) do make this Ointment (which in the right ſenſe indeed would be very precious) to have a ſtinking ſavour?

Let me tell you the truth, (though I do it with an unforward will) This is one of the Little Follies that will ſtick upon you, who otherwiſe might be accounted to have been Men in reputation for Wiſdom and Honour, *Eccl.* 10. 1.

And now I think almoſt as much as could be hath been ſaid

said against the Day of these Innocents; and yet for all that it is certain that the Holy-day is of very old standing in both the Churches: And thus and thus it was celebrated.

As nearer home, I shall begin with the use of the Abby of *Oseney* here at *Oxford*, (it was so, but the Maps will cheat you now, (indeed they are cheated themselves) 'tis *ubi Troja fuit.*)

By the use of this Church they were wont to bring out upon this day the Foot of a Child, prepared after their fashion, and put upon with red and black Colours, as to signifie the dismal part of that Day. They put this up in a Chest in the Vestry, ready to be produced at the time, and to be solemnly carried about the Church to be adored by the people.

My Authority for this you have here set down out of an old Ritual of that place, and observed to me by my very good and learned Friend *Gerard Langbain* Doctor of Divinity, and Provost of *Queens College*.

The Rubrick in the Ritual is, *Item notandum quod in die Innocentium, post Primam, præparetur Pes Innocentis, viz. cum rubro auricolari, nigróque panno super auricularem posito, qui jacet in quadam cistâ in Revestiario, & postea in Karola deferatur, ut adoretur à populo.*

The *Runick* Wooden Kalendar useth to distinguish these Holy-days, not as we and other folk do, but by a pretty kind of Hieroglyphical memory.

As in stead of S. *Gregory*'s Day, they set you down in a Picture a Schoolmaster holding a Rod and Ferula in his hands. It is because at that time (as being about the beginning of the Spring) they use to send their Children first to School. *Adeò superstitiosi sunt quidam, &c.* And some are so superstitiously given, as upon this night to have their Children asked the question in their sleep, Whether they have any mind to Book, or no? and if they say, Yes, they count it for a very good presage; *Sin tacuerint aut negent, stivæ eos adjudicant.* But if the Children answer nothing, or nothing to that purpose, they put them over to the Plough.

So for S. *George*'s Day they picture an Horse; for S. *John Baptist*'s a Lamb, *ad Agnum Dei, de quo vaticinatus est, respicientes.*

For

For *Simon* and *Jude's* Day a Ship, becauſe they were Fiſhers; and ſo (to come to the matter) for *Innocents* Day the Drawn Sword of *Herod*. *Olaus Wormius*, *Faſt. Danicor. lib.2. cap.19.*

It hath been a Cuſtom, and yet is elſewhere, to whip up the Children upon *Innocents-day* morning, that the memory of this Murther might ſtick the cloſer, and in a moderate proportion to act over the cruelty again in kind.

Lewis the Eleventh was ſo ſad and ſerious a remembrancer of this Martyrdom, that he would not be interrupted by any Affairs of State, how important ſoever, in the ſtricteſt ſanctification of their Day. *Philip de Comines.*

But the moſt commenſurate Recollection of this Day's Buſineſs (did not the Superſtitious part ſpoil the Decorum) is that which we are now about; A Celebration of the Day, and the Divineſt part of that, by a Service and Solemnity of Children.

The *Epiſcopus Choriſtarum* was a Choriſter-Biſhop choſen by his Fellow-children upon S. *Nicholas*'s Day. Upon this Day rather than any other, becauſe it is ſingularly noted of this Biſhop, (as S. *Paul* ſaid of his *Timothy*) *That he had known the Scriptures of a child*, and led a life *ſanctiſſimè ab ipſis incunabilis inchoatam.* The reaſon is yet more properly and expreſſly ſet down in the *Engliſh* Feſtival.

It is ſayed that his Fader hyght Epiphanius, *and his Moder* Joanna, &c. *And whan he was born*, &c. *they made him Chriſten, and caled him* Nycolas, *that is a mannes name, but he kepeth the name of a child, for he choſe to kepe vertues, meknes, and ſimplenes, and without malice. Alſo we rede while he lay in his cradel, he faſted Wedneſday and Friday: theſe dayes he would ſouke but ones of the day, and therwyth held him pleſed: thus he lyued all his lyf in vertues with this childes name. And therefore children don him worſhip before all other Saints*, &c. Lib. Feſtivals in die S. *Nicolas*, fol. 55.

From this Day till *Innocents* Day at night (it laſted longer at the firſt) the *Epiſcopus Puerorum* was to bear the name, and hold up the ſtate of a *Biſhop*, anſwerably habited with a *Croſier* or *Paſtoral-Staff* in his hand, and a *Mitre* upon his

head: and such an one too some had as was *multis Episcoporum mitris sumptuosior*, (saith one) very much richer than those of Bishops indeed.

The rest of his Fellows from the same time being, were to take upon them the style and counterfeit of Prebends, yielding to their Bishop (or else as if it were) no less than Canonical obedience.

And look what service the very Bishop himself with his Dean and Prebends (had they been to officiate) was to have performed, the Mass excepted, the very same was done by the Chorister-Bishop and his Canons upon the *Eve* and the *Holy-day*.

By the Use of *Sarum* (for 'tis almost the only place where I can hear any thing of this; that of *York* in their Processional seems to take no notice of it) upon the *Eve* to *Innocents* Day the Chorister-Bishop was to go in solemn Procession with his fellows *ad altare Sanctæ Trinitatis, & omnium Sanctorum*, (as the Processional; or *ad altare Innocentium sive Sanctæ Trinitatis*, as the *Pie*) *in capis, & cereis ardentibus in manibus*, in their Copes, and burning Tapers in their hands, the Bishop beginning, and the other Boys following, *Centum quadraginta quatuor, &c.* then the Vers. *Hi empti sunt ex omnibus, &c.* and this is sung by three of the Boys.

Then all the Boys sing the *Prosa sedentem in superna majestatis arce, &c.* The Chorister-Bishop in the mean time fumeth the Altar first, and then the Image of the Holy Trinity. Then the Bishop saith *modestâ voce* the Vers. *Lætamini*; and the Respond is, *Et gloriamini, &c.* then the Prayer which we yet retain.

Deus, cujus hodiernâ die præconium Innocentes Martyres non loquendo, sed moriendo, confessi sunt, omnia in nobis vitiorum mala mortifica, ut fidem tuam quam lingua nostra loquitur, etiam moribus vita fateatur: Qui cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto, &c.

But the Rubrick to the *Pie* saith, *Sacerdos dicat* both the Prayer and the *Lætamini*, that is, some Rubricks do; otherwise I take the Benediction to be of more Priestly consequence than the *Oremus, &c.* which yet was solemnly performed by the Chorister-Bishop, as will follow.

In

In their return from the Altar *Præcentor puerorum incipiat, &c.* the Chanter-Choriſter is to begin *De Sancta Maria, &c.* the Reſpond is *Felix namque, &c. Et ſic proceſſio, &c.*

The Proceſſion was made into the Quire by the Weſt door, and in ſuch order (as it ſhould ſeem by *Molanus*) *Ut Decanus cum Canonicis infimum locum, Sacellani medium, Scholares verò cum ſuo Epiſcopo ultimum & digniſſimum locum occupent, &c.* That the Dean and Canons went foremoſt, the Chaplains next, the Biſhop with his little Prebends in the laſt and higheſt place: the Biſhop taketh his ſeat, and the reſt of the Children diſpoſe of themſelves upon each ſide of the Quire upon the uppermoſt Aſcent, the Canons Reſident bearing the Incenſe and the Book, and the Petit Canons the Tapers; according to the Rubrick, *Ad iſtam proceſſionem pro diſpoſitione puerorum ſcribuntur Canonici ad miniſtrandum iiſdem; Majores ad thuribulandum & ad librum deferendum, Minores ad candelabra portanda, &c.*

And from this hour to the full end of the next days Proceſſion, *Nullus Clericorum ſolet gradum ſuperiorem aſcendere, cujuſcunq; conditionis fuerit.*

Then *Epiſcopus in ſede ſua dicat verſum, Speciosus formâ, &c. Diffuſa eſt gratia in labiis tuis, &c.* then the Prayer, *Deus qui ſalutis æternæ, &c. Pax vobis, &c.* Then after the *Benedicamus Domino, Epiſcopus Puerorum in ſede ſua benedicat populum in hunc modum*; that is, The Biſhop of the Children ſitting in his ſeat, is to give the Benediction, or bleſs the People in this manner.

Princeps Eccleſiæ, paſtor ovilis, cunctam plebem tuam benedicere digneris, &c. Then turning towards the People, he ſingeth or ſaith (for all this was *in plano cantu*; that Age was ſo far from skilling Deſcant or the Fuges, that they were not come up to Counterpoint) *Cum manſuetudine & charitate humiliate vos ad benedictionem*; the Chorus anſwering, *Deo gratias.* Then the Croſs-bearer delivereth up the Croſier to the Biſhop again: *Et tunc Epiſcopus Puerorum primò ſignando ſe in fronte ſic dicat, Adjutorium noſtrum in nomine Domini*; the Chorus anſwering, *Qui fecit cœlum & terram.*

Then after some other like Ceremonies performed, the *Episcopus Puerorum* or Chorister-Bishop beginneth the *Completorium* or *Complyn*; and that done, he turneth towards the Quire and saith, *Adjutorium, &c.* then last of all he saith,

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus,
Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus.

In die Sanctorum Innocentium ad Secundas vesperas accipiat Cruciferarius baculum Episcopi Puerorum, & cantent Antiphon. Princeps Ecclesiæ, &c. sicut ad primas vesperas. Similiter Episcopus Puerorum benedicat populum supradicto modo, & sic compleatur Servitium hujus diei. Rubric. Processional.

And all this was done with that Solemnity of Celebration and appetite of seeing, that the Statute of *Sarum* was forced to provide, *Sub pœna majoris Excommunicationis, nè quis pueros illos in præfata Processione, vel aliàs in suo ministerio, premat aut impediat quoquo modo, quò minùs pacificè valeant facere & exequi quod illis imminet faciendum, &c.* That no man whatsoever, under the pain of *Anathema*, should interrupt or press upon these Children at the Procession spoken of before, or in any other part of their *Service* in any ways, but to suffer them quietly to perform and execute what it concern'd them to do.

And the part was acted yet more earnestly; for *Molanus* saith that this Bishop in some places did *reditus, census, & capones annuò accipere*, receive Rents, Capons, &c. during his year, &c. And it seemeth by the Statute of *Sarum* that he held a kind of Visitation, and had a full correspondency of all other State and Prerogative; for the Statute saith, *Electus autem puer Chorista in Episcopum modo solito puerili officium in Ecclesia (prout fieri consuevit) licenter exequatur, Convivium aliquod de cætero, vel Visitationem; exteriùs vel interiùs, nullatenus, sed in domo communi cum sociis conversetur, &c. Ecclesiam & Scholas cum cæteris Choristis statim post Festum Innocentium frequentando, &c.*

More than all this, *Molanus* telleth of a Chorister-Bishop in the Church of *Cambray*, who disposed of a Prebend which fell void in his Month (or Year, for I know not which it was) to his Master, *quasi jure ad se devoluto: Quam collationem*

collationem beneficii verè magnifici reverendiſſimus Præſul, cùm puer grato animo magiſtrum ſuum bene de Eccleſia meritum nominâſſet, gratam & ratam habuit.

In caſe the Choriſter-Biſhop died within the Month, his Exequies were ſolemnized with an anſwerable glorious pomp and ſadneſs. He was buried (as all other Biſhops) in all his Ornaments, as by the Monument in ſtone ſpoken of before, it plainly appeareth; the Expreſs or Image whereof I have here ſet down in the dead poſture, as repeating over a paſſage of that kind which deſerveth to be remembred, though it were not fit to have been done.



For

For this Antick at the Feet of the Child, it is also a little to be spoken to.

This manner in Sepulture is very ancient and usual, both in the Christian and the Common Interest; and yet methinks 'tis a hard matter to fix a through-pac'd Reason upon it.

Geog. Nub. par. 3. clim 4 7 The *Arabick Nubian* Geographer hath this piece of Story: He very fully describeth the Sepulcres of the *Septem Dormientium*, (the thing I think is not so, but will serve the turn as if it were true) and then saith,

At the Feet of these dead Sleepers, and to each of them, a Dog lay to the Tomb, his head reflext upon his tail.

It will be a safe and easie way howsoever, (and I think 'tis true too) that all these Appointments of Gentry came down from the *Egyptians*. It seems we have not observed yet how much of the great business of Heraldry we have taken from them; whereas we that wonder at this odd kind of writing, express and turn it into *English* our selves. *Pausanias* in his *Bœotica*, where he speaketh of the Sepulcres of those *Thebans* which so stoutly fell in the *Macedonick* War, saith, that their Tombs had no Inscriptions, ἐπίσημα δ' ἐπίκλω ἀυτῇ λέων, *but the statue of a Lion stood by, as to signifie their courage* (and fortitude.) *Ptolemæus* the *Phæstian* rendreth the Original of these things up to *Hercules*: but that huge Name signifieth so much and so little, that I know not how to make the Synchronism.

The matter, if it be taken from the Original, is plainly Hieroglyphical. That People were the first that read neither backwards nor forwards, but a way of their own. *Caussinus* and others may be seen to the 37 Hieroglyphick of *Horus Apollo*.

For the thing here, the Head indeed and Fore-part was much defaced, but it was not untoward to guess the Dragon by his Tail; where yet I did not only make use of my own sagacity (such as it is) but of that also of my Ingenious friends Mr. *Edmund Chilmead* and Mr. *Richard Woodridge*, who discovered no otherwise upon the place.

The little Monster (I think I may call it so) seemeth to acknow-

acknowledge it ſelf to ſome Noble Family; but I believe 'tis higher yet; and, as to expreſs a Biſhop in every point, referreth to that of the Pſalmiſt, *Conculcabis leonem & draconem*, &c. For the ſmalneſs of this matter had reaſon to entitle it to the divineſt looks they had at that time; and a child of this kind might be thought fit enough to tread upon the Old Serpent.

In the *Greek* Traditions concerning the Day I find not any thing like to this manner of Celebration; and in the *Latin* but very little. *Durand* indeed maketh mention (and only ſo) of the *Benedictio Puerorum in die Innocentium*. *Beleth* ſaith as much; *Nocturnas & univerſum Officium craſtinum celebrant Diaconi, quòd Stephanus fuerat Diaconus, & ad Lectiones concedunt Benedictiones, (quod tamen facere non debent,* ſaith *Durand) ita tamen ut ejus diei Miſſam celebret Hebdomadarius. Sic eodem modo omne Officium perficiunt Sacerdotes ipſo die beati Joannis, quòd hic Sacerdos fuerit; & Pueri in ipſo feſto Innocentium, quia Innocentes pro Chriſto occiſi ſunt. Beleth. Divin. Offic. Explicat. cap. 70.* The *Saxons* had and kept the Day, as it ſeemeth by their Evangeliſtary, where the Rubrick to the Goſpel is, Ðyr ȝoðfpel ꝛeal on cylðamaꝛꝛe ðaȝ, *This is the Goſpel for Childmaß or Childermaß-day.* But of any Choriſter-Biſhop, as to bear a part in the obſervation, I did not attain unto: and ſince I can almoſt perceive that it was not much to be expected; and I am not to diſſemble that a very ingenious Friend of mine, Mr. *Thomas Barlow* of *Queens-College*, ſuggeſted to me as much. The Cuſtom doth very much appear to have taken its Riſe from the *Romiſh*; but how anciently, I muſt confeſs I know not. It began to loſe it ſelf more eſpecially from the times of the Council of *Baſil* in the 21 Seſſion, whereof it receiveth this ſharp rebuke.

Durand. lib. 7. c. 44. num. 15.

Turpem abuſum in quibuſdam frequentatum Eccleſiis, quo certis anni celebritatibus nonnulli cum mitra, baculo & veſtibus pontificalibus more Epiſcoporum benedicunt, (quod feſtum Fatuorum, vel Innocentium, vel Puerorum, in quibuſdam regionibus nuncupatur) &c. *Hæc ſancta Synodus ſtatuit & jubet,* &c. *nè hæc aut ſimilia ludibria exerceri amplius permittant.* Seſſion. 21.

I know not whether it will be best to say, that the Reverend Fathers might have been less mistaken; but that the *Festum Fatuorum* was a distinct Holy-day from the *Innocents-day*, is a clear case from *Durand. ubi suprâ.*

Otherwise I think it is not much to be thought that God took any very great pleasure in the Sacrifice of Fools.

It seemeth indeed to suit well with Flesh and Ceremony, that the Memories of the young Innocents should be kept in store by a Holy-day of Children, but 'twas but *strange fire.* The Word of the Lord was precious in those days, when the Child *Samuel* ministred before him in a Linen Ephod.

All this notwithstanding, you may note too, that these are not the least of those little ones which have been made capable of this improper excellency.

Baronius telleth of an Archbishop of *Rhemes* consecrated at five years old. But see *Sethus Calvisius* to the year after Christ 925, yet a little further. And that you may the less be moved at this small thing represented here unto you in such grand Apparel, I shall set down in the last place (as connatural to the business) a Story of an *Episcopus Piscis*, or a Fish in Bishops Habit. You must not question whether this be *Jure Divino*, or no. This Sea-ghost appeared in this form and fashion.

You



You may find as much in *Geſner* and others; but *Rondeletius* is my Author, and theſe are his words.

He had related before of a Monk-fiſh, and then he ſaith,



Monstrum aliud multò superiore mirabilius subjungo, quod accepi à Gisberto medico Germano, cujus antè aliquoties memini, quod ipse ab Amsterodamo cum literis acceperat, quibus ille affirmabat, Anno 1531 in Polonia visum id monstrum marinum, Episcopi habitu, & ad Poloniæ regem delatum, cui signis quibusdam indicare videbatur vehementer se cupere ad mare reverti; quò deductus, statim in id se conjecit. Sciens omitto plura quæ de hoc monstro mihi narrata sunt, quia fabulosa esse arbitror.

Ea

Ea eſt enim hominum vanitas, ut rei per ſe ſatis mirabili præter verum plura etiam affingant. Ego qualem monſtri iconem accepi, talem omnino exhibeo; vera ea ſit, an non, nec affirmo, nec refello. So *Rondeletius*. Not to beſtow much upon the Tranſlation, in ſhort it is, That in the year 1531. a Fiſh was taken in *Polonia*, ſuch an one as repreſented the whole appearance and appointments of a Biſhop. This Sea-monſter was brought to the King, and after a while ſeemed very much to expreſs to him, that his mind was to return to his own Element again: which the King perceiving, commanded that it ſhould be ſo; and the Biſhop was carried back to the Sea, and caſt himſelf into it immediately.

There is a ſtranger thing belonging to this ſtory than the thing it ſelf, that *Cromer*, who lived then, and wrote the Hiſtory of *Polonia* at that very time, ſhould know nothing of the matter.

Bellonius ſaith, that this Fiſh was for all the world like to a *Roman* Biſhop, *ſuâ mitrâ, ſuiſque reliquis ornamentis*, &c. What Popery in the Sea too? Away with theſe baubles; 'tis a marvel that ſuch fopperies ſhould be pretended to the beating down of ſubſtantial truths, (becauſe you and I muſt live, forſooth) and yet the things themſelves ſhould ſignifie juſt nothing at all.

Cujus corporis magnitudo, facies ac cultus, talis erat omnino qualem videmus Epiſcopi cujuſdam Romani.

FINIS.

DE

ÆRIS & EPOCHIS:

SHEWING THE

SEVERAL ACCOUNTS

OF

TIME

AMONG ALL

NATIONS,

From the CREATION to the PRESENT AGE.

BY

JOHN GREGORIE,

(Master of Arts of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*.)

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Clark* for *T. Williams*, and are to be sold at the *Bible* in *Little Britain*. 1671.

AERA & EPOCHIS:

SHEWING THE

SEVERAL ACCOUNTS

OF

TIME

AMONG ALL

NATIONS,

From the CREATION to the

PRESENT AGE.

BY

SIR ISAAC NEWTON, Knt.

Master of Arts of Cambridge, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

LONDON:

Printed by A. Bell, for T. Bennet, and are to be Sold at the Rose in Ave-Mary-Lane. 1702.

De Æris & Epochis.

SHEWING THE SEVERAL ACCOUNTS OF TIME AMONG ALL NATIONS,

From the Creation to the Present Age.

TO determine the Confusion of things, Chronology taketh part with History; which interweaving the Account of Time with the passages of Story, rendreth the *Series* more distinct, and fitter for comprehension.

Not to be curious about the description of Time, whereof S. *Augustin* confessed, *Si nemo ex me quærat, scio; si quærenti explicare velim, nescio.* 'Tis the measure of all our Motions, and is divided by the two greater Lights of Heaven into Days, and Months, and Years, *Gen.* 1. The two lesser parts of Time will offer themselves in the consideration of the greater. Conf. 11. c. 14.

A Year, though it might have been as truly said of any other Star or Planet, yet is it now made proper to the Sun and Moon, whose Revolution in the Zodiack is the general definition of this part of Time; so that every Month in the

the ſtricter ſenſe ſhould be taken for a Lunar Year, but that uſe hath prevailed againſt the right acception, making the Moon's Year to be that ſpace of time wherein ſhe meaſureth the Zodiack 12 times, or maketh twelve Conjunctions with the Sun. This courſe ſhe diſpatcheth in the ſpace of 354 days, 8 hours, and ſome odd minutes, eleven days or well nigh before the Sun.

The Sun's Year is the Revolution of his Motion in the Ecliptick; which if it be accounted in the Zodiack, it uſeth to be called *Annus Temporalis*, becauſe it ſo diſtinguiſheth the *quatuor Tempora*, Summer, Winter, *&c.* It is otherwiſe termed (and indeed moſt properly) *Annus Tropicus*, or *Vertens*, becauſe the Aſtronomers of old reckoned this Year from the Tropicks firſt, as it may ſeem; though after alſo from the Equinoctials depending upon the Suns entrance into theſe Points, which they uſed to obſerve with a great brazen Circle, planted ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ συῤ πυραμίνῳ, in the ſquare Porch at *Alexandria* mentioned by *Hipparchus*, whom *Ptolemy* citeth in the third of his *Almageſt*, *cap.* 2. which is concerning the quantity of the Year.

Cabaſil. in 3. Ptolem. c. 2.

If the Revolution be accounted from any Fixed Star to the ſame again, the Year is then called *Annus Sidereus*, firſt appointed by *Thebit* the *Arabian*, and very much advanced by the late learned *Copernicus*, againſt the unſounder Opinion of *Ptolemy*, in whoſe judgment it ſeemed as deceivable as to account from the wandring *Saturn* or *Jupiter*.

A Year therefore in our moſt uſeful ſenſe is that ſpace of time in which the Sun paſſeth through the twelve Signs, reckoning his Motion from under any one of the Fixed Stars (but from *Aries* to chuſe) unto the ſame again.

The preciſe quantity of this Year in Days is determined of by all to be 365, but the ſurplus of Hours and Minutes hath very much and vainly exerciſed the moſt curious.

To ſay nothing of *Democritus*, *Harpalus*, *Meton*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Archimedes*, and others, who aſſigned each of them his ſeveral quantity. *Julius Cæſar*'s Mathematician ſetteth down 365 days and ſix hours: *Hipparchus* and *Ptolemy* found this to exceed as much as made up the three hundredth

dredth part of one day. *Albategnius* doubled this proportion. The Correctors of the *Roman* Kalendar like none of these: and whereas all the rest adjudged the surplus to be less than the fourth part of a Day, *Copernicus* findeth it to be more, and setteth down 365 days, 6 hours, and 40 seconds. *Censorinus* therefore said well, that the Year consisted of 365 days, and one part of the sixth, but how much (saith he) no body knows. But the *Julian* proportion, as most ready for calculation, hath obtained in Chronology: *Erit igitur* (so *Scaliger* said of his) *instituti nostri Fundamentum Annus Julianus.* Emend. Tempor. l. 1.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Characters of Time.

A Character in Chronology is a certain Note whereby an infallible Judgment is made of the Time proposed. They are either Natural or Civil. Natural, as Eclipses, the Cycles of the Sun and Moon, *&c.* Civil, as the Sabbatical Years, the Indictions, *&c.* Their importance in History is more than their appearance: *Sine his*, without these, (saith *Scaliger*) *omnis conatus irritus*, 'tis to no purpose to go to work. *Character temporis* (as the same Author) *constituit fines audaciæ Computatorum, ut qui in hoc negotio Characterem negligat non magis sit audiendus quàm qui negat principia. Can. Isagog.* We begin with the Natural Characters, and first,

CHAP. II.

Of the Eclipses.

ECliplse is more properly said of the Moon than of the Sun. The Eclipse of the Moon is caused by the Interposition of the Earth; the Eclipse of the Sun by the Interposition of the Moon: therefore the Sun cannot be eclipsed but when he is in Conjunction with the Moon, nor the

Moon but when ſhe is in oppoſition to the Sun: yet neither do the Eclipſes come to paſs as often as theſe Lights oppoſe or conjoyn, for then they ſhould be Monthly; only that Conjunction or Oppoſition maketh an Eclipſe which is Diametral, that is, when the Centre of the Earth and the Centres of both the Luminaries ſhall be in the ſame Line, which hapneth to be there only where the Moon's Eccentrick cutteth the Sun's in that Line which is therefore called the Ecliptick. This Interſection is (as needs it muſt) but in two places, called by *Ptolemy* the *Nodi*, one aſcending, the other deſcending. The *Arabians* term them the *Dragon's Head and Tail*, from the faſhion of the Interſections, as they imagine it. But neither do theſe Interſections keep one certain place, but moving make a Circle of 18 years; ſo that the Eclipſe of the Moon which ſhall fall out the tenth of *December* next in the 20 Degree of *Gemini*, ſhall 18 Years hence come to paſs in the ſame Sign again.

Therefore Eclipſes being Periodical, the beginning of the World ſuppoſed, the Aſtronomer by Calculation can attain to any and all that ever have been, by the ſame Rules by which he foretelleth thoſe that ſhall be ſo; that if any where in Story this Character ſhall occur, nothing can more aſſure the Time.

Let inſtance be made in the beginning of the *Grecian* Empire, the appointment whereof dependeth upon the Battel at *Arbela*, or (as *Plutarch* correcteth) at *Gaugamela*. Eleven days (ſaith the ſame Author) before this Fight an Eclipſe of the Moon was ſeen; 'twas the ſecond hour of the Night, ſaith *Pliny*, the Moon then riſing in *Sicily*. Aſtronomical calculation demonſtrateth that this Eclipſe (all things conſidered) could not fall out but in the ſecond year of the 112 Olympiad, which was the 3619 of the World, the Sun being then in the 24 deg. of *Virgo*. And therefore that God in *Cicero* miſtook the courſe of the Stars, who preſaged, that if the Moon ſhould be eclipſed in *Leo* a little before the Sun's riſe, the Victory ſhould fall on *Alexander's* ſide. So indeed it did; but neither was the Moon then in *Leo*, nor the Sun in the Eaſt. For ſuch is the aſſurance of this Character,

Cic. de Divinat. l. 1.

racter, that though the Aſtronomer learn of the Hiſtorian, that there was an Eclipſe; yet where, and oft times when it was, the Hiſtorian might learn of him. De Emendat. Temp. lib. 5. Chronol. Bunting. fol. 126.

Euſebius and *Dio* ſet down that there was an Eclipſe of the Sun a little before the death of *Auguſtus*; but by a Calculation Aſtronomical, the Eclipſe was not of the Sun, but of the Moon; nor was it a little before, but a little after his death.

S. *Hieron* reporteth, that in his time (about the Year of Chriſt 393) ſo terrible a darkneſs overſhadowed the earth, (*obſcurato ſole*) that every man thought the World was at an end. *Nos ſcindimus Eccleſiam* (ſaith he to *Pammachius*) *cùm ante paucos menſes, circa dies Pentecoſtes, cum obſcurato Sole omnis Mundus jamjámque venturum Judicem formidaret?*

But the Aſtronomers find that there could be no Eclipſe of the Sun then, nor near about that time: but in ſuch caſes they anſwer, that the Interpoſition was made by ſome unuſual exhalations of that opacity, which might intercept the Sun's light in as great a meaſure as if the Moon had come between. Such an one was that Eclipſe (as ſome Hiſtorians miſcall it) which was ſeen ſo often in one Year before *Cæſar*'s death; and that of the Year 798, the Sun being ſo dark for 18 days together, *ut naves in mari aberrarent*, which was a greater Eclipſe than the Moon could make. Scal in Prolegom. pag. 51.

Yet neither is it here to be diſſembled, that the Aſtronomers themſelves do not always agree about this infallible Character; for *Moller* findeth out, by his *Friſian* Tables, many Eclipſes which cannot be attained unto by the *Prutenick* Tables, or thoſe of the King *Alphonſus*, *&c.* To excuſe this, we are to lay an imputation upon their Tables, as being not all exacted from the ſame Hypotheſes, or not performed with like eleborate erection: Or otherwiſe we are to ſay (ſuppoſing the Tables to be exact) that ſome error was committed in the calculation of the Eclipſe. And in this caſe we are to guide our ſelves by the greateſt Maſters in the Art. For what if *Moller* ſay that the Year of *Cæſar Auguſtus* his Diſeaſe cannot be demonſtrated by the Eclipſe of the Moon in the beginning of *Tiberius*, becauſe

the Moon was Eclipſed both the Year before and after? *Sethus Calviſius* may ſatisfie, that neither of thoſe could be total, as this was: and whereas the one of thoſe was ſeen at 7, the other at 8 of the Clock at night, this was ſeen at 5 in the Morning.

And therefore all this notwithſtanding, the Character is to be accounted excellent, and of ſingular importance; which *Ariſtotle* himſelf not ignorant of, appointed *Caliſthenes* at the Siege of *Babylon*, to reſerve with all poſſible care the μήσεις or Aſtronomical Calculations of the *Chaldeans*, as *Simplicius* relateth. And the care was taken, yet none of theſe obſervations (though known to be very many) could eſcape the injury of time, ſave only three Eclipſes, which came to *Ptolemy*'s hands, unto which himſelf added three more of his own obſervation, ſerving very much to the advancement of Hiſtorical Truth: though this be but a ſmall number, in compariſon of thoſe many which the Hiſtorians here and there have committed to memory; for indeed we are not for this matter much leſs beholden to ignorance than to knowledge. We know when it was that a *Roman* General durſt not give Battel for fear of an Eclipſe; and that of the Moon in the beginning of *Tiberius*, as one mentioned, as *Tacitus* can tell us, affrightned the mutinous Soldiers into order and accord: And 'tis not long ſince the Conqueror of the *Indies* perſwaded the Natives, that he had complained of them to their Moon, and that ſuch a day the God ſhould frown upon them; which was nothing elſe but an Eclipſe, which he had found out in his Almanack.

Tacit. Annal. 1.

However this ignorant Admiration was an occaſion to the Men of thoſe days, not to leave ſo ſtrange an Accident as an Eclipſe out of their Story, eſpecially if it happened to be great, or concurring with any notable deſign: little aiming at that which the reach of theſe days hath brought to paſs upon them, which by turning over the Leaves of that Celeſtial Volume, recovereth their Eclipſes again; and by application of this Character, maketh as ſure of the time propoſed, as if it had been written in Heaven.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Cycle of the Sun.

THe diviſion of the Year into 52 Weeks, becauſe it ſetteth off one day ſupernumeray, maketh an alteration in all the reſt; ſo that the Days of the Week (which uſe to be aſſigned by the Letters of the Alphabet) fall not alike in ſeveral Years; but *Sunday* this Year muſt fall out upon the next Year's *Monday*, and ſo forwards till ſeven Years; and (becauſe the Biſſextile ſuperaddeth another day every fourth Year) till four times ſeven, that is, twenty eight Years be gone about. This Revolution is called the Cycle of the Sun, taking name from *Sunday*, the Letter whereof (called therefore *Dominical*) it appointeth for every year. It is found by adding nine (for ſo far the Circle was then gone about) to the Year of our Lord, and dividing the whole by 28. So to the Year following 1639, if 9 be added, the *numerus factus* will be 1648, which divided by 28, leaveth 24 for the Cycle of the Sun.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Cycle of the Moon.

THe Cycle of the Moon is the Revolution of 19 Years, in which ſpace (though not preciſely) the Lunations do recur.

For becauſe of the Sun and Moon's unequal motions, the changes falling out inconſtantly, the time of Conjunction could not be ſtill the ſame. This variety the Ancients perceiving to be Periodical, endeavoured to comprehend what Circle it made in going about. *Cleoſtratus* the *Tenedian* perſwading himſelf, that the Variety finiſhed within the ſpace of 8 years, propoſed his *Octaetris*, affording thereby no ſmall direction: But the error of this was diſcovered in part by *Harpalus* firſt, and after that by *Eudoxus*, but more-

fully

fully by the learned *Meton*, who, finding that the Revolution was not completed in leſs time than the ſpace of 19 Years, ſet forth his *Enneadecaetris*, within the Circle whereof the Lunations (though not exactly) do indeed recur; ſo that if the Quadrature of the Moon ſhall fall out as this day of this year, the like ſhall return again the ſame day of the 19. year ſucceeding. This Cycle is therefore called *Cyclus decennovennalis*, and from the Author *Annus Meronicus*, from whoſe *Athenians* the *Egyptians* may ſeem to have received it, as the *Romans* from them, in Letters of Gold; from whence (if not from the more precious uſe of it) it obtain'd to be call'd, as yet ſtill it is, the *Numerus Aureus*, or *Golden Number*. It was made Chriſtian by the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council, as being altogether neceſſary to the finding out of the *Neomenia Paſchalis*, upon which the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, and all the reſt Movable depended. It ſelf is found by adding an Unite to the year of our Lord, and dividing the whole by 19, the remainder ſhall be the Cycle of the Moon; or if nothing remain, the Cycle is out, that is 19.

Origan.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Ferial Character.

THe Character of any Time propos'd, is that which remaineth after all the Septenaries be caſt away from the whole ſum converted into days.

In rationibus Solis & Lunæ (ſaith *Scaliger*) *de dierum aggregato ſemper abjicimus omnes Septenarios; & reſiduum cum horis & ſcrupulis, eſt Character temporis propoſiti.*

So the Character of a Month conſiſting of 29 days, 12 hours, and 793 minutes, is 1. 12. 793. that is, *Feria prima. hor.* 12. *min.* 793. for ſo much remaineth more than the Septenaries. The Eccleſiaſtical Year of old began at *Eaſter*, the firſt Week whereof was all Holyday, the days being diſtinguiſhed by *prima, ſecunda, tertia, &c.* added unto *Feria*. From thence the days of any other Week began to be called *Feria prima, ſecunda, &c.* 'Tis a Character of good aſ-

ſurance

ſurance if the Hiſtorian ſet down *Quâ Feriâ*, what day of the Week the Act was done. And if he ſet down what Holy or Feſtival day it was, 'tis a double Character. An Example ſhall be the deceaſe of great *Otho*, which, as ſome Hiſtorians caſt, happened in the year of Chriſt 972, as others, in the year 973, but they ſay too, that he died the ſeventh of *May*, upon the fourth day of the Week, and a little before *Whitſuntide*; but the ſeventh of *May* could not fall upon the *Feria quarta*, but in a year whoſe Dominical Letter was E, which was the Letter of 973, as 'tis certain from the Cycle of the Sun, which that year was 2.

Beſides, the Cycle of the Moon was 5, therefore the *Terminus Paſchalis* that year was *March* the 22, therefore the 11 of *May* was *Witſunday*, which cannot be ſaid of the years before or after. Therefore 'tis certain that *Otho* died that year, or elſe he died not that day.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Great Conjunctions.

Conjunctio ſuperiorum is not the ſame thing now as of old. The ancient Aſtrologers called no Conjunction Great but that of *trium Superiorum*, when *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and *Mars* met all together. But the later finding the effects of the two conjoyned more ſtrong and prevailing than of the three, have given the name of a Great Conjunction only to that of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*.

Theſe two ſuperior Planets finiſhing their Circles in unequal time, they make three Conjunctions in the whole Revolution. The twelve Signs in Aſtrology are divided into four Trigons, or Triplicities, each denominated from the connatural Element; and ſo they are three Fiery, three Aery, three Watery, and three Earthy. Nineteen years and ſome odd days and hours gone about, *Saturn* and *Jupiter* meet together in Signs of the ſame Triplicity: 198 years gone about, they meet in Signs of ſeveral Triplicity, but not altogether incomplying: 794 years and 214 days gone about,

about, they meet in Signs of contrary Triplicity. The first of these is called *Conjunctio minor*; the second, *Media*; this later *Magna*, the Great Conjunction, when *Saturn* joyneth force with *Jupiter* in the Fiery Trigon or Triplicity, which though it happen in 794 years and 214 days, yet it useth to be accounted by the *Numerus Rotundus* of 800.

By these Conjunctions Cardinal *Aliac* undertook to reform the whole state of Chronology, and make infallible demonstration of the years of the World.

To bring this about, he first of all supposed out of *Albumazar* the Figure of Heaven when the World began; That the Horoscope was in the seventh of *Cancer*, and that the Sun was in the 19 of *Aries*, the rest of the Planets accordingly assigned.

This taken for granted, he brought himself to that first and great Conjunction, which falling out in the Watery Triplicity, insinuated such an influence into the Inferior Bodies, as brought upon the World that universal Deluge, as *Aoniar* and *Albumazar* delivered out of their Ancients. By this Conjunction he assigned 2242 years for the Interval betwixt the Flood and the beginning of Things; but which was neither true in it self, nor following his own Principles. And therefore we may imagine what Conclusion he was likely to make, whose Foundation was not better appointed: though otherwise a great Conjunction may be set down among the Characters of Chronology; but rather to assure, than to find out the moments of Time; and more concerning that which is to come, than those which are gone and past.

Concerning

Concerning the Civil Characters, *and first of the* SABBATICAL YEARS.

AS the *Jews* every ſeventh Day, ſo their Land every ſeventh Year kept a Sabbath, which was therefore called *Annus Sabbaticus*, and the whole ſeven *Hebdomas Annalis*, a Week of Years. Theſe ſeven Years, ſeven times told, made 49 Years, and the 50 was their *Jubile*, ſo call'd from *Jobel*, which, as ſome *Rabbins* interpret, is as much in *Arabick*, as *Aries* in *Latin*; for ſo *Aquiba* one of their Doctors reporteth, that when he travelled in *Arabia* he heard the People call a Ram *Jobel*. Add hereunto, that when the *Jubile* came, a great ſound of Trumpets was to be made through all *Iſrael* in ſign of the Remiſſions, and theſe Trumpets they ſay were made of Rams horns. But this, though favoured alſo by the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, yet ſoundeth not ſo credibly to the Learned, eſpecially the known *Arabick* not acknowledging that word. And if not, then it may be ſaid, that *Jobel* ſignifieth any Muſical (however horrid) ſound, ſo called, as *Maſius* helpeth it out, from *Jubal* the Father of them which play upon the Harp and Organ.

Talmud in Roſh. Haſſana.

Targum in Joſu. 6. v. 4.

The *Jubiles* though by Inſtitution beginning at the 2500 year from the Creation, yet are Proleptically reckoned from the beginning of the World; which alſo was conſidered by the Author: for the firſt year of *Moſes* his firſt *Jubile*, was the laſt of the 51 *Jubile* from the World's Creation, accounting from the *Autumn* where the *Jubiles* began.

If it be ſaid that ſuch or ſuch a thing was done in a Sabbatical Year, 'tis a very good Character in the *Jewiſh* Chronology.

'Tis an ordinary opinion that *Nebuchadnezar* was the

ſame with that *Nabopolaſſar* in the Canon of *Ptolemy:* But 'tis certain out of the Prophet *Jeremy*, that the 18 year of *Nebuchadnezar* was a Sabbatical year, and it may be demonſtrated out of the *Almagiſt*, that the 18 of *Nabopolaſſar* was not: therefore they were not the ſame by this Character.

But in accounting the Sabbatical Years, this Rule is to be obſerved, that the ſame year which endeth one *Jubile* beginneth the next, or otherwiſe the Scripture it ſelf would be charged with error. And therefore *Buteolcer* and others, who were not aware of this, are not to be truſted for their Sabbatical Chronology. *Euſebius* himſelf was not much better advis'd; and yet *Heſychius* could tell that 'Ιωβιλαῖος was χρόνος πεντήκοντα ἐνιαύσιος, the ſpace of 49 years.

Heſyc. Lexic. in Ἰωβιλαῖος

Thoſe who think the Sabbatical years noted in the *Jewiſh* Kalendars not to be truly ſo call'd, may as well ſay ſo of their Sabbatical days, Thoſe who think the Sabbatical years were diſuſed in the Captivity, muſt conſider better of the Prophets words, who, when they ſeem to ſay ſuch a thing, are not to be underſtood of the ſimple celebration, but the Moral Solemnities, as *Jer.* 34. and elſewhere. Thoſe who think the Sabbatical years, though inſtituted, yet never to have been obſerved among the *Jews*, may repent of that miſtake, as well as *Scaliger* himſelf, *In Frag. p.* 34.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Indictions.

INdiction *ab indicendo*. 'Twas the Revolution of 15 years, deviſed, as our *Bede* thinketh, to avoid confuſion in Chronology, likely to ariſe from the Common uſe, which was to ſay, ſuch a thing was done in ſuch a year of ſuch a Reign, without conſidering what time of the year the King that then was began to rule, or what time the Predeceſſor ended. But why this Period ſhould be called an Indiction, the cauſes given, ſaith *Calviſius*, *multæ ſunt, quas ſi legas, cùm diverſiſſimæ ſint, incertior abis quàm acceſſiſti.* Several reaſons are ſet down in Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Gloſſary, out of

of *Cedren*, *Scaliger*, *Paul Petavius* and others. The firſt and greateſt pains about this were taken by the learned *Onuphrius*, yet unprofitably. *Scaliger* conſidered of a new reaſon, but which *Baronius* refuteth *ad Annum Chriſti* 312. *Scaliger* again replieth in his next edition, and ſeemeth to acquit himſelf of the Cardinal's exception, but cannot be heard neither by *Petavius* nor *Calviſius*, thongh as much adored by this later, as ſlighted by the former. And indeed, ſaith *Petavius*, this is one of thoſe things which could never yet be found out, though very much inquiry hath been made after it. Scalig in Proleg. p. 210.

Indiction is moſt properly ſaid *de Tributo Indicto*, as appeareth by the Title in the *Code*. And becauſe theſe *Tributes indicebantur in Quinquennium*, therefore that which was wont to be called *Luſtrum*, was otherwiſe acknowledged by the name of Indiction, anſwering to the *Greek* πενταετηρὶς, as in Circle, ſo in uſe; the Indiction being nothing elſe but a *Roman* Olympiad. Succeeding times put *tria Luſtra* together, and called three by the name of an Indiction; ſo reckoning their years, and beginning at the Emperor *Theodoſius*, ſaith *Cedren*, but deceiving himſelf, for the 273 Olympiad in the *Faſti Siculi* hath this Synchroniſm, Ἰνδικτώνων Κωνσταντιανῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχή, that is, *Here begin the Indictions of Conſtantine*. He ſaith of *Conſtantine*, for that before this time there had obtained in the *Antiochian* uſe a *Julian* Indiction. *Indictio Juliana Antiochenſium*, beginning in *Julius Cæſar*, 48 years *Ante C. N.* noted therefore in the ſame *Faſti* with an Ἀρχὴ Ἰνδικτώνων, or the firſt Indiction, but as I think of 5, not 15 years. Thoſe of *Conſtantine* began (as was ſaid) in the 273 Olympiad, in the third Conſulſhip of *Conſtantine*, and ſecond of *Licinius*. Therefore they began 312 years *poſt Ch. Nat.* as only *Petavius* is not certain of. Therefore the Indictions began at the very diſmiſſion of the *Nicene* Council; ſucceeding, ſaith *Onuphrius*, in place of the Olympiads, which, as unchriſtian, the Emperor had forbidden. Cod. l. 10. Tit. 16.

The ſame Author citeth a Canon of the Council, That the Biſhops Reſcripts, *&c.* ſhould bear the date of the Indictions,

ons,&c. but to be taken upon his own truſt; for the Canon, ſaith *Petavius*, is not there to be found.

But certain it is, that the Indictions began at this time, conſiſting of 15 years: and if not with ſome relation to thoſe three years, during which the Council aſſembled, allowing for each of thoſe a *Luſtrum* or Quinquennal, then likely for the reaſon given by Venerable *Bede*, or at leaſtwiſe for ſome other which we know not of.

And becauſe at the very ſame time the Emperor celebrated his *Vicennalia* with great largeſſes and diſtribution of dole unto the people, as the uſe was; therefore the *Greek* of New *Rome* rendred the Latin *Indictio* by ἐπιτιμος, *diſtributio*; and *Palladius* in the Life of S. *Chryſoſtom*, ſaith, that the *Aſian* Biſhops came to *Conſtantinople*, *decimatertiâ Diſtributione*: and with the ſame reſpect, the Reſcript of *Honorius* relaxeth the *debita contracta*, *uſque ad initium Fuſionis quintæ*, meaning the Indiction. *Cod. Theod. De indulgent. lib. 6.*

The Emperor *Juſtinian* made a Law, That no Writing ſhould paſs without the date of the Indictions,&c. *ſic enim* (ſaith he) *per omnia tempus ſervabitur*, &c. *L. Sancimus*, *Novel.* 42. And the providence was material, for the Indictions have proved to be an excellent Character in Chronology, for the aſſurance of things done ſince the times of *Conſtantine*.

For the time of the Year, the Indictions were fixed in *September* originally, as may be ſeen by the Reſcript of *Anaſtaſius in L. ult. de An. & Tribut.* And in the 24 of that Month, as the Subſcriptions teſtifie: but not alike retained in both the Empires: for by the uſe of *Conſtantinople*, they begin at the Kalends of *September*, ſince the death of *Juſtinian*, ſaith *Sealiger*, and that in conformity to their new year, which began at the ſame time; but the Weſtern *Cæſars* date from the 24, as of old. The firſt uſeth to be called *Indictio Conſtantinopolitana*; the ſecond, *Cæſarea*. Add to theſe, the *Roman* Indiction, beginning (as their Year alſo) from the Kalends of *January*.

When we find in Story that ſuch a thing is ſaid to have been

been done in such an Indiction, as *Indictione primâ, secundâ, tertiâ, &c.* the number is still to be understood of the same, not several Circles. For instance, *Pelagius* the Pope being accused of the Faction against his Predecessor *Vigilius*, went up into the Pew, and putting the Gospel-book upon his head, purged himself by Oath. This was done, saith the Appendix to *Marcellinus*, *Indictione secundâ*. He meaneth not the second Indiction, but the second year of the seventeenth.

To give an Instance of this Character.

Rome (saith *Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, *&c.*) was taken by *Alaric* the *Goth*, *Varane* and *Tertullo Coss.* or at least, as *Marcellinus*, *Varane solo Cos.* for his Collegue *Tertullus* was not chosen till the Kalends of *July*. *Marcellinus* addeth, that it was taken *Indictione octavâ*. *Orosius* and *Cedren* undertake that this was done in the year *post Ch. Nat.* 411. but this answereth to *Indictio nona*, therefore the City was taken the year before, by this Character.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Periods.

THe Indictions, as the Circles of the Sun and Moon, are very assuring Characters even by themselves; *sed eorum fallax est usus, nisi quædam ex illis Periodus instituatur*; but of much greater certainty, saith *Scaliger*, if brought into a Circle or Period; which was also considered by *Dionysius* the Abbat, who therefore (taking some example from *Victorius Aquitanus*) multiplied the Cycle of the Moon into the Cycle of the Sun, that is, 19 into 28, which make up 532 years, and so it was called the *Cyclus Magnus*, and from the Author, *Dionysianus*. Unto this the great *Scaliger* superadded the third Character of Indictions, the Revolution whereof he multiplied into the other two, that is, 532 by 15, and the whole Circle was 7980: and this is that *magna Periodus Juliana Scaligeri*; *Juliana*, from the *Julian* form by which it measureth; and *Scaligeri*, from the last hand.

The

The admirable condition of this Period is, to diſtinguiſh every year within the whole Circle by a ſeveral certain Character: for, as in that of *Dionyſius*, let the Cycle of the Sun be 2, and the Moon 3, or whatſoever, in what year ſoever; the ſame never had, nor never again could fall out within the ſpace of Time: ſo in this of *Scaliger*, let the Cycle of the Moon be 5, that of the Sun 23; let the Indiction be 6, as it falleth out this preſent year 1638. I ſay, the ſame Characters ſhall not again concur till the revolution of 7980 years be gone about.

This Period the Author fixed in the *Tohu*, or eternal Chaos of the World, 764 *Julian* years before the moſt reputed time of Creation; ſo that the Circle is not yet out, but ſhall be the 3267 of the Incarnation.

This he did, that he might comprehend all, and more than ever was done, all *Æra's*, *Epoche's*, and Terms in Chronology, and in ſpecial that of *Orbis Conditi*, which, through variety of opinion, was ſo inconſtantly diſpos'd of, that Chronologers knew not where to fix themſelves: then alſo that he might give ſome account for the Heroical times of thoſe *Egyptian Dynaſts* pretending Antiquity many years further back into the Chaos, than the *Moſaical* Πηξις or Beginning.

All this and more he hath brought to paſs by this Incomparable Period, which bringing the three Characters to a concurrence yearly, diſtinct and ſeveral, muſt needs deliver up a moſt infallible Account of Time.

To advance the opinion of their concurrence, let them firſt be ſingly conſidered.

Joſephus ſaith at the end of his Antiquities, that he finiſhed that Work in the thirteenth year of *Domitian*, and 56 of his own age, *&c.*

De Emendat. Temp. l. 5. p. 476. *Scaliger* demonſtrateth by the Circle of the Moon, that either he ſaith not true of the thirteenth of the Emperor, or elſe himſelf was one year elder. Again,

The Chronologers are not a little aſhamed that they ſhould not be able to ſatisfie, as concerning ſo late and famous a Calamity as the Siege of *Conſtantinople* by *Mahumed* the

the ſecond, eſpecially recommended to poſterity, not only by the deep impreſſion of ſo vaſt a Miſery, but alſo by ſome ſecret concourſe of Fatality, as being both built and loſt by a *Conſtantine*, and the ſon of *Helen*.

Thus far they agree, that the City was taken either *Anno* 1452, or elſe 1453. *poſt Ch. Nat.* they agree alſo for the moſt part, that it was taken the 29 of *May*, *feriâ* 3.

The Patriarchical, as alſo the Political Hiſtory ſet forth by *Cruſius*, equally affirm that the City was taken in the year 1453. *Chalcondylas* and *Hieromonachus* his Ἀνδ& report, that it was the year before; but all agreeing, that the day was *Tueſday*, the 29 of *May*.

I ſay that the year 1452 had 5 for the Circle of the Sun, therefore the 29 of *May* could not that year fall upon *Tueſday*, but the day before; therefore either the City was taken the year 1453, or elſe it was not taken the 29 of *May*, but they all agree that it was taken that day, therefore it was taken that year, by the Circle of the Sun. Therefore alſo the ſtate of the City ſtood 425 years longer than *Valens* the Aſtrologer foretold, who being demanded concerning the fate of *Conſtantinople*, erected the Figure of Heaven for the Nativity thereof. The Horoſcope was *Cancer*. Having conſidered the Stars, he gave this Judgment, that the City ſhould live to the age of 696 years; but thoſe are paſt and gone, ſaith *Zonaras*, except he would be meant of the flouriſhing ſtate, for otherwiſe he was deceived.

The Character of Indictions of what importance it is, that therefore abſolute Chronicle of *Marcellinus* can teſtifie. *Quod cùm ſingulis Collegiis conſulum* (ſaith *Scaliger*) *ſuas Indictiones reddat, nihil habemus hodie perfectius in eo genere.* De Emend. Temp. pag. 513.

By an old *Roman* Inſcription, ſuch an one died *Conſulatu Stiliconis ſecundo & 7 Kal. Novembres Die Beneris oRa Ouarta. Marcellinus* noteth this Conſulſhip with *Indictione tertiâ*, therefore it was in the year of Chriſt 405. but the Cycle of the Sun for this year was 22, therefore the ſeven Kalends of *November* could not fall out upon *Friday*, but the day before. Beſides the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Stilico* ſucceeded immediately

immediately the ſixth of *Honorius*, but the year before had 5 for the Circle of the Moon; for *Claudian* ſaith, that *Honorius* entred the City the Kalends of *January*, *Lunâ adhuc rudi*, therefore the New Moon was in the end of *December*; which could not be except the Cycle had been 5. Therefore the year before the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Honorius* was the year of Chriſt 403, therefore the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Honorius* was the year 404; and therefore the ſecond of *Stilico* was 405. In this Demonſtration the three Characters all concur, but not periodically, yet to the making up of a ſtrange truth; for by this it will follow, that he which inſcrib'd the Tomb did not know the Conſul's name, though he lived at the ſame time. *Scaliger* therefore, *Quàm barbari ſunt & impuri* (ſaith he) *qui doctrinam Cyclorum irridenti* De Emend. Temp. *p.* 514, 515.

Thus much aſſurance we can make to our ſelves from the ſeveral abilities of each Character; but which if they meet together in this Period, ſet ſuch a mark upon the time propoſed, as maketh it to be known from any other whatſoever within the duration of the world, or the whole Circle at leaſt. *Artificioſiſſima Periodus!* as *Helvicus* admireth, with many others: ſo that the Author needed not to break forth into his *Nos qui eam excogitavimus, periodum hanc ſatis laudare non poſſumus.* Canon Iſagog. lib. 3. Yet

Salian (otherwiſe a great Annaliſt) loſeth a Chapter or two in the diſparagement of this Period, as he expected it ſhould redound, but it falleth out unto his own. The abſurdneſs of his Exceptions betray him thus far, that he could have no juſter cauſe why to expoſe this Period, than that himſelf had been ſo unfortunate as to build his Annals upon a leſs-during foundation. But of what accompliſhment this Period is, I think we may beſt of all be judg'd by *Petavius*, the moſt open mouth againſt that great reſtorer of Chronology. This *Petavius* ſaith, that there is not one thing in that whole Book, *De Emendatione temporum*, not liable to juſt reproof, this only Period excepted, than which he confeſſeth to know nothing more important for the advancement of Chronology; and therefore earneſtly commendeth

mendeth it unto general practice, aſſuring all men that by this means the moſt inſuperable confuſions of time may be reduc'd to order, with moſt incredible eaſe and effect.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Æra's.

IN the account of time there muſt be ἀφ' ὃ and εἰφ' ὃ, the *Unde* and the *Quo*. Accordingly Chronology whatſoever, fixeth it ſelf upon ſome certain term, to which the reckoning ſhall refer. The moſt natural Term would be the World's Creation, from which the *Jews* and we *Chriſtians* account our Times, though we rather from the Redemption: *Si origo Mundi in Hominum notitiam veniſſet, indè exordium ſumeremus. Cenſorin. De Die Natal. ca.* 20. Some of thoſe who could not attain the Worlds beginning, reckoned from their own. So the *Romans*, *ab Urbe Condita*. Otherwiſe this Account uſeth to reſpect either ſome great Name, or ſome notable event. So the *Greeks* account from their Olympicks, and the *Aſſyrians* from *Nabonaſſer*.

Theſe or the like Terms of Computation *Cenſorinus* expreſſeth by the word *Tituli*. They are moſt uſually known by the names of *Æra & Epoche*. They are called *Epoche's*, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπίσχεσις, *à ſiſtendo, quòd illis ſiſtantur & terminentur menſuræ temporum*, ſaith *Scaliger*, *De Emend. Temp. l.* 5. *p.*358.

Æra (ſay the *Alphonſine* Tables) *Hiſpanis dicitur tempus limitatum ab ævo aliquo ſumens exordium.*

It was firſt of all ſaid of the *Æra Hiſpanica* reſpecting the time of *Cæſar Auguſtus*. The *Spaniards* to comply with the Succeſſes of their Triumvir (for the Diviſion aſſigned *Spain* to *Auguſtus*) received at that time the *Julian* form, accounting the ſame from the Emperor under this Style (as *Sepulveda* conceiteth) *Annus erat Auguſti*, or *A. er. A.* which in time, for want of Interpunction, was put together, and became the word *Æra*. *Sepulved.*

To this *Scaliger*: *Ridicula* (ſaith he) *Ridicula, & tamen illi viro erudito adeò placuit Commentum ſuum, ut ejus rei gratiâ*

tiâ duntaxat ſcriptionem illius Libelli de emendatione Anni ſuſcepiſſe videatur, &c.

James Chriſtman fetcheth the word out of his *Arabick*, from *Arab*, *computare*; which, becauſe of the *Spaniſh* uſage, might receive ſome probability from their converſation with the *Moors*: But the *Arabick* Geographer in the ſecond part of the fourth Clime deriveth this *Etymon ab ære flavo*, and the *Saracen* calleth this Term *Æram Æris*, that is, ſaith *Chriſtman*, *Æris ſolvendi Fiſco Romano*, meaning a certain Tribute impoſed by *Auguſtus*, firſt upon the *Spaniards*, and afterwards upon the whole Empire.

Some (but moſt unreaſonably) derive the word from *Hera*, one of the names of *Juno*; ſo *Garcias Loiſa* out of *Hincmare*, as he thinketh: Others from the ſame word, as it betokeneth Dominion, ſo they force it; they ſhould rather have conſidered that *Hera* in the *Spaniſh* tongue ſignifieth time, though from a *Gothick* Original, from whence our *Saxons* had their ȝere, or year, as we now call it. And this may ſeem to bear ſome relation to the Word, eſpecially for that *Æra* is oftentimes uſed for *Annus* in *Iſidore*'s Chronicle, and elſewhere. Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Gloſſary may be ſeen in this word. *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Calviſius*, and others, confirm, that *Era* in old *Latin* ſignified as much as *Numerus*, and 'tis manifeſt enough out of *Nonius Fauſtus Regienſis*, and *Cicero* himſelf; and this they hold to be the moſt likely derivation of the word; if it be, yet he that firſt obſerved it was *Reſendius* a *Spaniard*, in an Epiſtle to a Friend of his, who required his Opinion concerning the *Æra Hiſpanica*.

But becauſe this *Etymon* doth no way intimate why that uſe of the word ſhould be peculiarly taken up among the *Spaniards* (except it were true which *Scaliger* conſidered, that it was in uſe elſewhere, but againſt which *Petavius* hath given a probable reaſon) the Notation in the *Gloſſary* would rather be taken, and ſo it may be a word of the *Gothick* derivation, tranſlated thence to the *Spaniſh* uſe, and properly ſaid of their *Epoché*, but now the common name of all others.

Thoſe *Æra*'s or *Epoché*'s are ſeverally to be fixed, and firſt of all that of *Orbis Conditi*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Æra Orbis Conditi.

Much queſtion hath been made among the Chronologers, in what time of the Year the World ſhould begin; and more, as ſome think, than needed. Not ſo: for beſide that for either reaſon alſo this ought not to be indifferent to learned men, yet in Chronology it importeth neceſſarily, that the πῆξις (as it is therefore called) be aſſured to ſome certain time, wherein the Accompt ſhall determine; ſeeing therefore it was neceſſary that ſome one Term or other muſt be taken, why not the true to chuſe?

If the Queſtion were asked indefinitely, Whether the World began in the Spring, the Summer, the Winter, or the Autumn? the Anſwer muſt be, That it began in all. For ſo ſoon as the Sun ſet forth in his Motion, the Seaſons immediately grew neceſſary to ſeveral Poſitions of the Sphere, ſo divided among the parts of the Earth, that all had every one of theſe, and each one or other at the ſame time.

The Queſtion therefore is to reſpect ſome particular Horizon: and becauſe it is not doubted, but that the Sun firſt appeared to this upper Hemiſphere, and in ſpecial in the Horizon of our firſt Parents; the Quære is to be moved concerning the Holy Land, at what time of the year the World there began.

'Tis agreed upon by all, that it began in ſome Cardinal point; that is, that the Motions began from the Eaſtern Angle of the Holy Land, the Solſtitial or Æquinoctial points one or other of them aſcending in the Horoſcope. Nay, *Mercator* excepted, ſcarce any man doubteth but this Point was Æquinoctial, either in the Spring, or Autumn. Whether in this, or that, was anciently a great Queſtion between the Doctors *Eliezer* and *Joſhua*, as the *Seder Olam* relateth. *Scaliger Joſeph*, and (becauſe he did) *Sethus Calviſius*, *Torniellus*, and others, fix this beginning in the Autumn; which alſo was the Opinion of our *Bacon* long ago.

But the Father *Julius* was not of his Son's mind. *Mundum* (ſaith he) *primo vere natum Sapientes autumant, & credere par eſt.* So the more part maintain, and for the beſt reaſons. And if it were not otherwiſe evident, Nature it ſelf is very convincing, whoſe Revolutions begin and end in the Vernal Æquinox. Nor can any other good reaſon be given why the Aſtronomers ſhould deduce all their Calculations from the Head of *Aries*.

The *Æra* of the Flood falleth within the 1656 year of the Worlds Creation, as the *Hebrew* Scripture is plain: why 'tis otherwiſe in the *Greek* Accompt ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

CHAP. VI.

Nabonaſſar's Æra

WAs of all prophane ones of the greateſt note and uſe. *Alfraganus*, *Albategnius*, and the King *Alphonſo*'s Tables call him *Nebuchadonoſor*, or *Nebuchadnezar*, deceived as it ſeems by the *Almageſt*. So *Ptolemy*'s Book entitled Μεγάλης σωντάξεως, or *Magnæ Conſtructionis*, is call'd by the *Arabick* Tranſlators *Althazor* and *Serig*, who, at the inſtance of *Almamon* their King, turn'd this Book into that Language, and that they might ſpeak *Ptolemy*'s Title in one word, they ſet down *Almageſton*, that is, the μέγιστον, or the Great Work. The Tranſlators of this *Almageſt* uſe to render *Ptolemy*'s *Nabonaſſar* by *Bechodnetzer*, giving too much heed to the likeneſs of Names. *Alfraganus* and *Albategnius* followed the *Arabick* Tranſlation of *Ptolemy*, and the *Alphonſine* Tables the *Latin* Tranſlation of that.

Mercator, *Funccius*, the *Prutenick* Tables, *Origanus*, and many others, confound this Name with *Shalmaneſſer*'s, the *Aſſyrian* King: But *James Chriſtman* maketh demonſtration that the times agree not, beſides other circumſtances added by *Scaliger* inducing the ſame truth, with the evidence whereof *Origanus* holding himſelf convinced, was not aſhamed to make his retractation.

Yet *Chriſtman* and *Scaliger* themſelves found it an eaſier matter

matter to tell who *Nabonaſſar* was not, than who he was.

It ſeemed to *Chriſtman*, that he might be the ſame with *Beladan* the Father of *Merodach*, or at leaſt that he was a King of *Babylon*, whoſe own name was unknown, *Nabonaſſar* being the Royal Name of that Kingdom, as he thinketh, and common to them all. *Scaliger* putteth this together, and aſſuring himſelf that *Nabonaſſar* was the ſame with *Beladan*, maketh no doubt but that was the name of the King, this of the Man. So the 5 Book of his *Emendations*; but the third of his *Iſagogical* Canons confeſſeth this alſo to be a miſtake.

This Error was firſt diſcovered by the Appearance of *Ptolemy*'s Canon, which ſetteth down a Liſt of the *Babyloniſh*, *Perſian*, and *Roman* Kings, from *Nabonaſſar*'s time to the time of *Ptolemy*. Mention was made of this Canon by *Panodorus*, *Anian*, and *George* the *Syncellus*, amongſt whom *Scaliger* (but lately, and not intirely) met with it. *Sethus Calviſius* received a Tranſcript of a more perfect Copy from D. *Overal* Dean of S. *Paul*'s, the Original whereof is extant in *Biblioth. Bodleian.* and ſet out with *Ptolemy*'s Hypotheſis by D. *Bambrigge*.

The Canon beginneth,

Κανὼν Βασιλέων.

Ναβοναζάρου	ιδ.	*Nabonaſſari*	14.
Νάδιου	β.	*Nadii*	2.
Χινζήρου καὶ Πώρου	ε.	*Chinceri & Pori*	5.
Ἰουγαίου	ε.	*Jugæi*	5.
Μαρδοκεμπάδου	ιβ.	*Mardocempadi*	12. *&c.*

Nabonaſſar therefore was King, not, as ſome thought, of *Egypt*, but *Babylon*; who, for delivering his People from the ſubjection of the *Medes*, was made the *Æra* of their Kingdom; from whom the *Chaldeans* (and the *Egyptians* therefore) accounted their Celeſtial Calculations. For his Synchroniſm, the Canon ſetteth him down the fifth before *Mardocempad*, or *Merodach-cen-pad*, the ſame with *Merodach Beladan*, who ſent Meſſengers to K. *Ezechiah* to enquire concerning

cerning the Retroceſſion of the Sun. But for a more certain demonſtration of the time, three Lunar Eclipſes noted by *Hipparchus* are ſet down by *Ptolemy* in the fourth of his *Almageſt*. The firſt was ſeen at *Alexandria* the 16 day of *Meſori*, in the 547 year of *Nabonaſſar*. This Eclipſe by the *Julian* Calculation and Tables of *Calviſius*, fell out upon *Fryday* the 22 of *September*, at 7 of the Clock in the afternoon and 20 minutes; the Sun then being in the 26 of *Virgo*. It was the year 4513 of the *Julian* Period, that is, the 3749 from the Worlds Creation, out of which if we deduct the 547 years of *Nabonaſſar*, the remainder will be 3203, the year of the Worlds Creation, wherein this *Æra* was fixed. The day, as the King *Alphonſus*, and before him the Tranſlators of the *Almageſt* have delivered, was *Dies Thoth*, or *Mercurii*, anſwering to the 26 of the *Julian February*, beginning (ſo *Ptolemy*) at high noon, the Sun then entering into *Piſces*, and the Moon being in the 11 degree and 22 minutes of *Taurus*. And the ſame concluſion will follow from the two other Eclipſes, reduced in like manner to our Calculation.

And to put all out of doubt, *Cenſorinus* ſaith that the 986 year of *Nabonaſſar* was the 238 of Chriſt, but that was the 4951 of the *Julian* Period. Therefore *Nabonaſſar*'s *Æra* began in the 3967 year of the ſame Period, which was the 3203 year from the Worlds Creation. So that the *Æra* is undoubtedly aſſured.

This *Æra* ſtill accounteth by *Egyptian* years, which are therefore called *Anni Nabonaſſarei*; and becauſe it began upon *Wedneſday*, the firſt day of their firſt Month, (which (as the day it ſelf) they hold holy to *Thoth* or *Mercury*) uſeth to be called *Nabonaſſar*'s *Thoth*.

CHAP. VII.

The Æra of the Olympiads.

THe Olympick Games were inſtituted for the exerciſe of the *Grecian* Youth, by *Hercules* (as the Tradition goes) to the honour of *Jupiter Olympius*, near unto whoſe Temple

Temple they were perform'd in the Olympian Field. The Exerciſe was called *Pentathlon*, or *Quinquertium*, from the fivefold kind. The Victor was crowned with an Olive, and triumphantly carried in a Chariot into his own City, and, which is to the purpoſe, his name was publickly recorded.

The time was (as only *Pindar* hath revealed) at the Full Moon which followed the Summer Solſtice. They were celebrated every fifth year: and the Interval was called an Olympiad, conſiſting of 4 *Julian* years, and the odd Biſſextile day; which was the cauſe, as ſome think, why this form of Year was firſt introduced.

The firſt Celebration by *Hercules* vaniſhing in the Intermiſſions, grew to be leſs famous than the reſtitution by *Iphitus*, whereof ſo much more notice had been taken than of the other, that this, which was many years after, is yet accounted for the firſt Olympiad: The time or *Æra* whereof is aſſured by the Character of that extraordinary Eclipſe which the Sun ſuffered with our Saviour, noted by *Phlegon* to have happened in thee 202 Olympiad, which multiplied by 4, maketh 808 years, between the firſt Olympiad and the Paſſion of Chriſt.

Beſides that, *Thucydides* reporteth, that in the firſt year of the *Peloponneſiack* War, on a Summer's day in the afternoon, there hapned an Eclipſe of the Sun, ſo great an one, as that the Stars appeared. This Eclipſe, by Aſtronomical Calculation, is found to be the ſecond day of *July*, in the year before Chriſt 463, at which time, as *Cruſius* calculateth, the Sun was eclipſed in the 6 of *Leo*, half an hour after 5 in the afternoon: the Digits of the Eclipſe were 9, and four third parts, therefore almoſt one fourth part of the Sun was viſible, reſpecting the Horizon of *Athens*; but in *Thrace* the Eclipſe was well-nigh total, ſo that the Stars were ſeen.

This therefore was that Eclipſe which *Thucydides* ſaith was ſeen in the firſt year of the *Peloponneſiack* War.

In the fourth year of the ſame War, the Author ſaith, that *Donius Rhodius* wan the Prize in the Olympicks, and this was the fourth year of the 87 Olympiad, and that was the

the 460 year before Christ. If therefore the 87 Olympiads be multiplied by 4, they become 348 *Julian* years, which if they be added to 460, the total will be as before, 808 years, or the 202 Olympiad before the Passion of Christ.

Again, *Thucydides* reporteth, that in the 19 year of the *Peloponnesiack* War, the Moon was eclipsed, and this was, as *Diodorus Siculus* relateth, in the fourth year of the 91 Olympiad. That Eclipse of the Moon, as *Cruſius* calculateth, fell out upon the 27 day of *August*, in the 445 year before the Passion of Christ. If therefore 90 Olympiads be multiplied by 4, they make up 360 *Julian* years, to which also must be added the three first years of the 91 Olympiad, and then they are 363, which added to 445, make up 808 years before the Passion of our Saviour, which falleth with the 3173 year of the World, and is the *Æra* of the Olympiads.

CHAP. VIII.

Æra Urbis Conditæ.

THe *Italians*, by an old Custom, used to account their Years from the time of their first Plantation. Yet in this the lesser Towns were more happy than the Mother-City: *Rome* her self not having attain'd to know her own beginning, till *Cato*'s time; who considering the absurdity, searched the Censor's Tables, and bringing down the Account to the first Consuls, got within a little of *Urbs Condita*. It rested only to make good the Interval from the *Regifugium* to the *Palilia*; so the *Æra* of the first foundation is called, from the Rites done to *Pales Pastorum Dea*, the Shepherds Holy-day, as we may call it; celebrated the same day the City was built. *Propertius*, *lib.* 4.

Urbi festus erat, dixere Palilia Patres:
Hic primus cœpit mœnibus esse dies.

The Interval, as *Cato* found it, amounted to 243 years. *Terence Varro* (who at the same time studied the point) reckoned

reckoned one year more; and from thence, ſaith *Scaliger*, *in factiones duas res diſceſſit*, there became two ſides, one for the *Catonian Palilia*, the other for the *Varronian*: though *Petavius* (that *Scaligero-maſtix*) affirmeth that the former was not *Cato*'s opinion; and *Sethus Calviſius* demonſtrateth that they were both but one.

This Epilogiſm was found out by *Tarutius*, or (as he is more rightly called) *Taruntius Firmanus*, a great Aſtrologer of thoſe days, who at the ſollicitation of *Varro* caſt the Nativity of *Rome*: which to recover, he firſt of all tried for the Founder's Horoſcope. To attain to this, he entred into a conſideration of the main actions of his life; and becauſe he had underſtood by Tradition that there hapned an Eclipſe when *Romulus* was conceived in the womb, he went the Hermetical way, as that is called, to find out the Nativity by the Conception.

After conſultation with the Stars, and a due compariſon of this with what was otherwiſe known, τὰ μάλα, he confidently pronounced this Judgment:

That *Romulus* was conceived in the firſt year of the ſecond Olympiad, the 23 day of the (*Egyptian*) Month *Chœac*, at the third hour of the day, the Sun being then totally Eclipſed. That he was born the one and twentieth of the Month *Thoth*, about the Sun-riſing. That the Foundation of *Rome* was laid the ninth day of *Pharmuth*, between two and three a clock in the morning, the Moon being then in *Jugo*. So the Aſtrologer. Plutarch. in Romul.

Otherwiſe the Tradition was (which alſo *Taruns* conſidered) that the Foundation of *Rome* was laid in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad, the Sun and Moon then being in an Ecliptical Conjunction; which defection was noted by *Antimachus* the *Teian* Poet,

For the firſt Eclipſe, as his Tables (which are ſaid to be thoſe of *Hipparchus*) directed him, it fell out in the firſt year of the ſecond Olympiad, upon the 23 day of the Month *Chœac*, which anſwereth to the 24 of *June*, at three a clock in the morning. Yet according to *Tycho*, *Ptolemy*'s, and the King *Alphonſus* their Tables, the Latitude was then ſo great,

that there could be no Eclipſe at that time. So *Sethus Calviſius*, and others. *Nicolas Muller* pretended that this Eclipſe could not be found out by the *Prutenick* Tables; but by the *Friſian*, which he was then about, (his own, and more elaborate) he promiſeth to account for it. *Calviſius* anſwereth, that the *Prutenick* Tables according to *Copernicus* his Hypotheſes, were moſt exactly performed, and that he doubted *Muller* could not ſtand to his word. Yet ſince that *Muller* hath calculated this Eclipſe, and found it to be by his *Friſian* Tables, according as the Aſtrologer ſet down.

Henry Bunting findeth it in the ſecond year of the ſecond Olympiad, one year later than the Aſtrologer. And this may ſeem to be nothing out of the way; for *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* reporteth, that *Romulus*, as he came not into the World, ſo he went not out without an Eclipſe. Now *Romulus* reigned 37 years, at which very time the Sun was eclipſed, upon *Saturday* the 26 of *May*, about 7 of the clock in the afternoon, the Sun then ſetting at *Rome*; and the greateſt abſurdity *Calviſius* could find in this was, that it ſetteth off but 18 years for the age of *Romulus* at the building of *Rome*; which, as he thinks, could not make him mature enough for the importance of this undertaking: but conſidering all other circumſtances agree ſo well, the Exception is unjuſt enough.

For the other Eclipſe pretended to be at the Foundation of the City, *Nicolas Muller* findeth that alſo in his *Friſian* Tables, yet confeſſeth it could not be ſeen at *Rome*; but in *Aſia* 'twas viſible, he ſaith, and ſo might be known to *Antimachus*.

And this maketh ſomething for the Aſtrologer, who (as *Cicero* citeth him) found the Moon at the Foundation in *Jugo*, that is, as *Solin* may ſeem to interpret it, in *Libra*; the rather, becauſe the Poet *Manilius* ſaith, that *Rome* was built in *Libra*. So *Petavius*. But *Solinus* (though he knew not what he ſaid, yet) ſaith too, that the Sun was then in *Taurus*, which is demonſtrated by *Bunting*, and moreover, that it was in the twentieth degree; and therefore the more learned *Scaliger* and his *Calviſius* interpret the Aſtrologer's

loger's *in Jugo*, to be the ſame which is now ſaid *in Nodo*, which is as much as to ſay, that the Sun and Moon were then in Conjunction, as *Muller* ſaith well, and that the Sun wa, *intra terminos Eclipticos*, within the Ecliptick terms, at *Rome*, but not ſo far as to make the defection viſible in that Horizon.

Howſoever, the Aſtrologer according to his Calculation ſet down, that *Rome* was built in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad, which *Terence Varro* took for his reſolution, and ſo reckoned from the *Regifugium* to the *Palilia* 244 years; *Marcus Cicero*, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, and the Emperor *Auguſtus*, approving the Epilogiſms; and beſides them, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Paterculus*, and others: and 'twas the received opinion, and is infallibly demonſtrated in *Mercator*'s Chronology, by eight ſeveral Celeſtial Characters or Eclipſes, which calculated to *Nabonaſſar*'s *Æra*, fall even with the Aſtrologer. To ſay nothing of *Cruſius*, who hath done ſomething to the ſame purpoſe, or *Peter Appian*, who evinceth the ſame (I ſay not how truly) out of the Figure of the Heavens which *Turnus* found (but as *Julius Solinus* deſcribeth it) at the laying of the Foundation; *Verrius Flaccus* in the *Faſti Capitolini* ſetteth down *Rome* built in the fourth year of the ſixth Olympiad, one year later; and the Canons of *Eratoſthenes* in the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad, one year more, or rather but one in all; for the Regiſters of the Capitol agree with *Cato*, and he differeth nothing from *Varro*, if *Calviſius* may be Judge.

Therefore altogether neglecting *Temporarius* his moroſity (who was ſo far out of conceit with *Turnus*, that he would not believe that there was ever ſuch a man as *Romulus*) we ſay that *Rome* was founded in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad, which was in the year of the Worlds Creation 3198, and before the Incarnation 750.

CHAP. IX.

Æra Septimanarum Septuaginta, the Seventy Weeks.

THis *Æra* was fixed by the Angel *Gabriel*, *Dan.9.Seventy Weeks* (ſaith he to the Prophet) *are determined upon thy People, &c.* v. 24. *Know therefore and underſtand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to reſtore and build Jeruſalem, unto the Meſſiah the Prince, ſhall be ſeven Weeks, and threeſcore and two Weeks*, &c. *And after threeſcore and two Weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf; and the People of the Prince that ſhall come ſhall deſtroy the City and the Sanctuary*, &c. *And he ſhall confirm the Covenant with many for one Week; and in the midſt of the Week he ſhall cauſe the Sacrifice and the Oblation to ceaſe, and for the overſpreading of abominations he ſhall make it deſolate, even until the conſummation, &c.* So the Angel.

The Weeks are to be underſtood not of Days, but Years; and thoſe not of the Moon, but the Sun; and ſo 70 by 7 is 490 years, from the time of the going forth of the Commandment, *&c.* unto the Abomination of Deſolation. But where te begin or end this Epilogiſm, is the *vexata Quæſtio*, as *Scaliger* calls it, a Queſtion that hath endured the greateſt controverſie, involved with circumſtances of ſuch notable intricacy, that a Scholar of very great Parts ('tis reported by one that knew the man) fell mad with ſtudying how to make this good.

Some reckon the Epilogiſm from *Cyrus*, others from *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and ſome from the ſeventh, others from the 20 of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; accordingly ending the Weeks, ſome at the profanation of the Temple by *Antiochus*, others at the deſtruction of the Temple by *Pompey*, or that of *Herod*, or elſe at the Paſſion.

The trueſt of the falſe is that which beginneth at the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and endeth in our Saviour's Paſſion: for this maketh a good account of the years. It was the opinion of the learned *Bunting*, *Funccius*, &c. But that

that which I perceive to be reſted upon, is the Judgment of *Scaliger*, followed by *Calviſius*, and this begin̄eth the Epiloglſm at the ſecond year of *Darius Nothus*, and determineth it in the final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*. For the Angel ſaith expreſly, that *after ſeven Weeks and ſixty two Weeks, the Meſſiah being cut off, the holy City ſhall be deſtroyed, &c. and that in the middle of the ſeventh Week the Sacrifice and Oblation ſhall ceaſe, and for an overſpreading of abomination, &c.* which is plainly called by our Saviour *the abomination of deſolation, ſpoken of by Daniel the Prophet, &c.* and therefore no queſtion but the ſeventy Weeks are to end with the Holy City. Their begining was to be from the time of the going forth of the Commandment, *&c.* And this, though ſuch an one was given firſt by *Cyrus*, and thirdly by *Artaxerxes*, yet moſt purpoſely from *Darius Nothus* in the ſecond year of his reign. The 13 year of *Darius Nothus* is the 20 of the *Peloponneſiack* War, by *Thucydides* that was the 92 Olympiad, and this was the 3538 from the Worlds Creation, or 4302 of the *Julian* Period: therefore the 2 year of *Darius Nothus* was the 4290 of the *Julian* Period, and that was the 3562 from the Worlds Creation. The Cycle of the Sun was 6, and the Moon 15. And the Interval is expreſly 490 years. For the Holy City was deſtroyed in the ſeventieth year of the Incarnation, which was the 4019 from the Worlds Creation, and the 4783 of the *Julian* Period; the Cycle of the Sun was 23, and the Moon 14.

CHAP. X.

Æra Alexandrea.

WHat time *Seleucus* began to ſucceed in his part of the Empire of *Aſia*, the *Greeks* diſuſing their Olympian Account, ſet up a new *Æra*, which though it reckon'd from the reign of *Seleucus*, yet it bare the name of the Conqueror, from whom it was called *Æra Alexandrea Græcorum*, or *Syro-Macedonum*. *Seleucus* began to reign 12 years after the death of *Alexander*, as appeareth by *Albategnius* and the *Almageſt*;

mageſt, which conſenteth alſo to *Diodorus Siculus*, who affirmeth that the firſt year of *Seleucus* was the firſt of the 117 Olympiad.

Therefore this *Æra* was fixed in the 4402 of the *Julian* Period, which was the 3638 from the Worlds Creation; the Cycle of the Sun was 6, and the Moon 13. The *Æra* was fixed ſaith *Scaliger* (though *Petavius* will not yield it) by *Calippus* of *Cyzicum*, who finding that *Meton's Cyclus decennovennalis* exceeded the Moon's Revolution one Quadrant of a Day, put four of theſe together, and detracting from thence one whole Day for the quadruple exceſs of Hours, gave an exacter account of the Lunations than before.

This Cycle the Author, to the honour of *Alexander*, began the 28 of *June*, in the Summer Solſtice, at the New Moon, which followed the Fight at *Gangamele*. And this was in the year of the World 3619, as the Eclipſe aſſureth which hapned eleven days before: but becauſe this fell out to be in the ſecond year of that Olympiad, *Calippus* altered his mind, and ſtaid nineteen years to make his Period concur; but *Alexander* deceaſing within ſeven years, the *Æra* could not begin till twelve years after, which was the firſt of the Reign of *Seleucus*, and 3638 of the World.

CHAP. XI.

Æra Dhilcarnain.

IS the ſame with the *Alexandræa Græcorum*, and hath nothing proper but the Name, which it ſelf alſo is nothing but *Alexander* in other words, as by the *Arabick* Geographer and otherwiſe 'tis made known. *Dhilcarnain*, that is, *habentis duo cornua*, as *Albumazar's* Tranſlator expreſſeth it.

So *Alexander* was called with relation to the *Ram* in *Daniel's* Viſion, as ſome divine; but then they are fain to read it *Ailcarnain*, not conſidering that it is not the word in *Arabick*, as in the *Hebrew*, for a *Ram*; the *Arabians*, if they had meant thus, would have ſaid not *Ail*, but *Hamelcarnain*. But

But

let that pass, for the word written in its own Language manifestly importeth no more than one that hath two horns.

So *Alexander*, saith *Christman*, might be called, either for that his Empire was bipartite into *Asia* and *Syria*, (which is not altogether so true;) or otherwise, for that he joyned the East and West together with Conquests, holding as it were the two Horns of the World in his victorious hands.

And this he saith, because, as *Hercules* in the West, so *Alexander* set up two Pillars for a *Non ultra* to the Eastern World. The *Arabians* themselves say more: For though the more commonly known Historians of this Conquerour, *Q. Curtius*, and *Arian* out of his *Ptolemy*, and *Aristobulus*, take no notice of *Alexander*'s falling in the Western World, (*Cedren* excepted, whersoever he had it) yet the *Arabick* Geographer doubteth not to affirm, that he was the man by whose appointment and design that *Isthmus Gaditanus* was cut out, and the *Atlantick* Ocean let into the *Mediterranean*, so making that Streight or *Fretum* (therefore not to be termed *Herculeum*) now called the Streights of *Gibralter*, or, as it should be, *Gebal Tarec*, that is, *Tarec*'s Hill, so called, saith the *Arabick* Geographer, from *Tarec* the Son of *Abdalla*, who having transported his Barbarians over the Streight, secured his Army with the natural fortification of that place. *Geographus Arabs 1 par cl. 4.*

But why *Alexander* should be called *Dhilcarnain*, or *Habens duo cornua*, *Scaliger*'s reason is beyond exception, and which *Petavius* himself could not chuse but commend. *Alexander*, to raise himself a reputation of Divinity, suborned the Priest to intitle him the Son of *Corniger Ammon*: thenceforth the *Cyreneans*, who had formerly used to express this *Jupiter* horned in their Coins, transferred this honour to the Conqueror, and so the reputed Son, as the Father, was known by the name of *Corniger*; which when it came to the *Arabians*, was to be said as here it is, *Dhilcarnain*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Jews Æra.

Alexander the Great with his *Grecian* Army marching towards *Jerusalem* with all intention of Hostility, the High-priest and Levites came forth to meet him, all in their holy Garments. The King beholding this reverend Assembly, made an approach himself alone, and drawing near to the High-Priest, fell down and worshipped. The Captains wondering to see the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*, who had given command that all men should worship him, himself to fall down to a *Jew*, *Parmenion* drew near, and made bold to ask him the question: To whom *Alexander*; 'Tis not the Priest, saith he, but his God whom I adore; and who in his very Habit appeared unto me long ago at *Dius* in *Macedonia*, and encouraged me in my Undertakings for the Empire of *Asia*. This done, the King ascended the Temple, where, Sacrifice first done to God, the Prophecy of *Daniel* was brought forth, the High-Priest turning to that place which foretelleth of a mighty Prince of *Græcia* that was to conquer the *Persians*; which, the the circumstances well agreeing, the King readily applied unto himself, and so departed very well pleased, and full of hope, leaving the People to their ancient peace. So their Historian *Josephus*, and the Book *Taanith*, *cap.* 9.

Antiquitat. lib. 11.

But it is added morcover by *Abraham* the *Levite* in his *Cabala*, that the High-Priest by way of acknowledgment made faith to the King, that all the Children which should be born that year to the Holy Tribe should be called by his Name; and moreove, that from the same Time they would henceforth compute their *Minian Staros*, or *Æra* of Contracts, *&c. fol.* 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Æra Dionyſiana Philadelphi,

A Celeſtial Year is ſuch an one as keepeth touch with the Sun, the Months whereof begin at his entrance into the Signs preciſely, and eſpecially ſerving for the Prognoſtication of the Seaſon. Such a kind of Year *Dionyſius* an Aſtrologer in *Egypt* ſet up, after the Example of *Meton* and others, (as by *Theon* 'tis noted upon *Aratus*.) The *Æra* whereof he fixed in the firſt year of the famous *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Philadelph*. 'Tis often cited in the *Almageſt*, which alſo giveth teſtimony that this *Æra* began in the 463 of *Nabonaſſar's Thoth*, which was the fourth year of the 123 Olympiad, anſwering to the 4429 of the *Julian* Period, which was the 3665 of the Worlds Creation. The Cycle of the Sun was 5, and the Moon 2. Ptol. l. 10. c. 4. & 5. Almagiſt.

But neither was this year of *Dionyſius* meerly celeſtial, 'twas alſo civil, as *Scaliger* diſcovereth; yet of no greater uſe in Hiſtory than to reconcile one place in that golden Book (as the ſame Author termeth it) of *Jeſus* the Son of *Sirach*. That wiſe man ſaith, that in the 38 year when *Euergetes* was King, he came into *Egypt*, &c. But how could that be, ſaith *Scaliger*, ſeeing this *Ptolemy* reigned but 26 years? To ſay as ſome do, that he meant the years of his own life, or the life of *Euergetes*, is rather to excuſe the Author, than interpret him. And therefore 'tis to be ſaid that he referreth to the *Dionyſian* Account, in the 38 whereof he might come into *Egypt* in the time of *Euergetes*. And therefore *Petavius* upon his *Epiphanius* firſt, and again in his *Doctrina Temporum*, had little reaſon to fall ſo foully upon the much-more learned Author of this, and many other admired Revelations. Emen. Temp. lib. 5.

CHAP. XIV.

Æra Hiſpanica.

Dion lib. 11. *JVlius Cæſar* in the fourth of his Dictatorſhip, appointed his Mathematicians to the Correction of the *Romane* Year; which is the beginning of the *Julian* Account. The 283 whereof *Cenſorinus* ſaith was the 1014 of *Iphitus*, and that the 986 of *Nabonaſſar*, Therefore the *Julian* Account began the 703 of *Nabonaſſar*, which was the 4669 of the *Julian* Period, and 3905 from the Worlds Creation. The Cycle of the Sun was 21, and the Moon 14. Seven years after, and 38 before the Nativity of Chriſt, the *Spaniards* being brought under the ſubjection of the Empire, received alſo this form of Year, their *Æra* from that time forth bearing date from hence: which though it was the fifth of *Auguſtus*, yet the Style went in the Dictator's Name; and ſo the King *Alphonſo* would be underſtood in his Tables, when he calleth this Term *Æra Cæſaris*, meaning the Dictator.

CHAP. XV.

Æra Actiacæ Victoriæ, &c.

CÆſar Auguſtus having trinmphed over *Antony* and *Cleopatra* in the Battel of *Actium*, τὸ κεφάτ῾ πᾶν μόνῳ ἔσχεν ſaith *Dion*, became himſelf to be a Monarch of the World, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου ἔτη τῆς Μοναρχίας αὐτοῦ ἄρξαι, &c. inſomuch that he gave command that the Empire ſhould begin to compute their Acts from this days Atchievement; which was the ſecond of *September* by *Dion*. It was the year of the World 3919, and 4683 of the *Julian* Period; as otherwiſe, and alſo by an Eclipſe noted in the *Faſti Siculi*, 'tis manifeſt: yet by the Decree of the Senate, this *Æra* was fixed in the deſtruction of *Alexandria*, which was taken *Auguſt* the 29 of the year following, 'twas the 16 *Julian* year, and the 294 from the death of *Alexander*.

Till

Till this time the *Egyptian* account measured by *Nabonassar*'s year, consisting of 365 days, without any intercalation of the odd hours; in the place hereof the *Julian* form succeeded. And because the *Egyptians* called every day in the year by the name of some God, which were therefore celled ἡμέραι Θεῶν, and every year of their *Lustrums* or *Quadriennals* in like manner, which were therefore called ἔτη Θεῶν, *Anni Deorum*, these years were henceforth called in honour of *Augustus*, *Anni Augustorum Deorum*, or *Anni Augustorum*, as 'tis recorded by *Censorinus*, who only mentioneth themby this Name.

This *Æra Actiaca* continued in use till the time of *Diocletian*, who having gained himself an Opinion of Wisdom and Fortune among his People, thought himself worthy from whom the Computation should now begin, which was done. It was therefore called by those of the Empire *Æra Diocletianea*; but by the Christians *Æra Martyrum Sanctorum*, from the great Passion of Saints in the 19 of this Emperor's reign, wherein more than one hundred forty and four thousand Christians suffered persecution in *Egypt*. Thus *Ignatius* the Patriarch of *Antioch* answered *Scaliger* by his Letters; *Vir*, saith *Scaliger*, *quo doctiorem Oriens nostro seculo non tulit*. But the *Æra Martyrum* and that of *Diocletian* began at the same time, as *Christman* upon his *Alfraganus* proveth out of *Abull Hassumi* an *Arabick* Historiographer. And to assure the beginning of *Diocletian*'s *Æra*, *Theon* upon the *Almagest* noteth an Eclipse of the Moon at *Alexandria*, τῷ πα' ἔτει Διοκλητιανοῦ, in the the 81 year of *Diocletian*, and the 1112 of *Nabonassar*, *Athyr* th 29, and 6 of *Phamenoth*: and this Eclipse, exacted to the *Julian* form, hapned *Novemb.* 25, a little after midnight, in the year of the World 4313, and 364 from the Incarnation; the Sun was in the 5 of *Sagittary*. Therefore *Diocletian*'s *Æra* was fixed in the 1032 of *Nabonassar*, which was the 284 from the Incarnation. Therefore as it is called *Æra Martyrum*, it referreth not to the Persecution in the 19 of *Diocletian*, but to that of his first year, wherein *Diodorus* the Bishop celebrating the Holy Communion with many other Christians

Theon. Hyp. 6. in Ptolem. Alm p. 248.

in a Cave, was immured into the Earth, and ſo buried all alive. *Euſebius* in *Diocletian.*

This *Æra* is uſed by S. *Ambroſe*, *Epiphanius*, *Evagrius*, *Hermannus Contractus*, *Bede*, and others. It ſtood in common Chriſtian uſe, until the times of *Dionyſius* the Abbat, who inſtead hereof brought in the *Æra* of Chriſts Incarnation; ſo that (as *Peter Aliac*, our *Bede*, and others) the Chriſtians did not uſe to reckon by the years of Chriſt, until the 532 of the Incarnation: yet *Scaliger* may be ſeen, *De Emend. lib.* 5. *pag.* 495. *& pag.* 496. *& pag.* 18. of his *Prolegomena.*

Nor is it to be thought, ſaith *Chriſtman*, that this *Æra Martyrum* was utterly aboliſhed, except we mean it of *Rome*; for, ſaith he, 'tis yet in uſe among the *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, *Perſians*, *Ethiopians*, and generally the Eaſtern men.

Scaliger ſaith it once and again (how truly I doubt) that it never was but as it ſtill is uſed in the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* Churches. No doubt but that it was moſt proper to *Egypt* where it firſt began, for which cauſe it is called by the *Arabians*, *Teric Elgupti*, the *Æra Ægyptica.* From the *Egyptians* the moſt part of the World received it, though the *Abaſſines* or *Ethiopians* in a directer Line, as whoſe Patriarch and Religion is ſubject to that of *Alexandria.* The *Ethiopians* call it the *Anni Gratiæ.*

CHAP. XVI.

Æra Chriſti Nati.

Dionyſius the Abbat, who, as we ſaid, was Author to the World of accounting by this new *Æra*, infinitely more concerning than that of *Diocletian*, fixed the ſame in the 4713 of the *Julian* Period, which anſwereth to the 3950 year from the Worlds Creation; ſo that the *Anni Chriſti* were not in uſe of Computation till the 532 year after the Nativity, as it was fixed by *Dionyſius.* This *Dionyſian* πῆξις the more accurate in Chronology find to be at fault,

fault, but not themſelves agreeing upon the difference. To ſay nothing of the Biſhop of *Middleburgh*, who affirmeth that this *Æra* was behind-hand with the true Nativity 22 years, and that S. *Paul* himſelf had revealed this to him; though afterward he changed this opinion, S. *Paul* it ſeems not being in the right, and believed that this *Æra* was ſo far from being 22 years behind, that it was two years before-hand with the truth. *Capellus* laboureth to prove that it is a Metachroniſm of 6 years, *Kepler* of 5, *Decker* of 4, others of 3, *Scaliger* of 2, who demonſtrateth, as he himſelf thinketh, that the firſt year *Dionyſian* of Chriſt ought to be reckoned the third. Learned *Bunting*, one of the firſt who took this exception, demonſtrateth that the difference is but of one year. He proveth it thus. Taking for granted out of S. *Luke*, that the thirtieth year of Chriſt is Synchronical to the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, he noteth an Eclipſe of the Moon ſet down by *Tacitus* in the firſt year of *Tiberius*, the two *Sexti*, *Pompeio & Apuleio Coſſ.* This Eclipſe hapned upon *Thurſday* the 27 of *September*, in the 4727 of the *Julian* Period, which was the 3963 from the Worlds Creation. And ſeeing, as moſt certain it is, that this Eclipſe fell out in the firſt year of *Tiberius*, and that the 15 of *Tiberius* anſwereth to the 30 of our Saviour's age, it followeth, that the firſt of *Tiberius* was the 15 of our Saviour; and the firſt of our Saviour was the 4712 year of the *Julian* Period, one year ſooner than the *Dionyſian* πῆξις, or, as it may be, the very ſame; for 'tis doubted what S. *Luke* meaneth by ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος Ἰησοῦς· our own Tranſlation rendreth, *that Jeſus began to be about thirty years old, &c.* which conſidering, and that the firſt of *Tiberius* was but the beginning of a year, the difference may ſeem to come within compaſs of ſome reconciliation.

For the time of the year, the *Alexandrian*, and therefore the *Ethiopian* and *Armenian*, Churches deliver that our Saviour was born the 6 of *January*, the ſame day he was baptized; accordingly they celebrate both the Feſtivals in one day of the *Epiphany*: which for that it hath been of ſome ſtanding in thoſe parts, prevailed ſo far with *Caſaubon*, as to

forſake

forſake the more received opinion, but not conſidering how ſlenderly this Tradition pretendeth. Some queſtion of old there was in the Church of *Alexandria* (ſo their *Clement* reporteth) as concerning the day of this Nativity. To reſolve this doubt, they obſerved this courſe: The day of his Baptiſm ſuppoſed, which, as we, they held to be the *Epiphany*; they ſuppoſed alſo out of the fore-quoted place of S. *Luke*, that our Saviour was born and Chriſtned the ſame day, for that he was 30 years old when he was baptized. Their concluſion therefore was, that our Saviour was born the ſixth of *January*; which how conſequent it is, I need not ſay. The forenamed Biſhop of *Middleburgh* ſetteth down our Saviour born in *April*. *Beroaldus* thinketh he was born about the beginning of *October*. So *Scaliger*. *Calviſius* about the end of *September*. As for the day, ſaith *Scaliger*, *Unius Dei eſt, non Hominis, definire:* and *Hoſpinian* perſwadeth, that the Chriſtians did not celebrate the 25 of *December*, as thinking Chriſt was born then, but to make amends for the *Saturnalia*.

How much better had it been for theſe men to content themſelves with the Tradition of the Church, than by this elaborate unfruitful ſearch to entangle the Truth?

The Religion of this 25 day, though *Scaliger* ſay it, *non eſt nupera neque novitia*, 'tis Apoſtolical by the Conſtitutions of *Clement*, &c.

Antiqu. l. 1. Nor doth *Chryſoſtom*'s Oration ſay much leſs. The *Catholicus Armeniorum* in *Theorinus* Dialogue makes this good by ancient Monuments brought from *Jeruſalem* to *Rome* by *Titus Veſpaſian*: or if this Authority could be rendred ſuſpicious, we cannot elude the *Perſian Ephemeris*, nor the Aſtronomical Tables of *Alcas*, in both which our Saviour is ſet down born the 25 of *December*. And truly the ſtrange and rare poſition of Heaven at this Nativity doth not a little reinforce my belief, though otherwiſe not much given to admire matters of this nature; for *Cardan* finds it in the Figure of our Saviour, there hapned this day a Conjunction of the two great Orbs, which is of that kind which Nature can ſhew the World but once, except the World endure more than 40000 years.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Æra Paſſionis Dominicæ.

NO leſs queſtion hath been made about the Year of our Saviour's Paſſion, than that of his Nativity. Thus much is certain, That he ſuffered upon *Friday* the fourth of *Niſan*.

Not to take notice of the Acts of *Pilate* cited by the Hereticks in *Epiphanius*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria* delivereth, That our Saviour ſuffered in the 16 of *Tiberius*, and 25 of *Phamenoth*, which anſwereth to the 21 of *March*. But our Saviour ſuffered upon *Friday*, therefore the Dominical that year was E: but the 16 of *Tiberius* had 11 for the Cycle of the Sun, therefore the Dominical Letter was not E, but A: therefore either the Paſſion was not upon that day, or elſe it was not that year.

Epiphanius affirmeth that our Saviour ſuffered the 20 of *March*: but he ſuffered (as before) upon the *Feria ſexta*, therefore the Dominical muſt be D; for otherwiſe *Friday* could not fall upon *March* the 20. This hapned *Anno* 19 of *Tiberius*; but the Cycle of the Moon for the year was 15, therefore the Paſſover that year was not celebrated *March* the twentieth, but the fourth of *April*, and *feria* not *ſexta* but *ſeptima*.

Many other forms of this Opinion are ſet down by the Ancients, but which will not endure the touch of theſe Characters.

Phlegon Trallianus noteth an Eclipſe of the Sun the fourth year of the 202 Olympiad, the moſt horrible that ever was. No man ever doubted but this was that which the Scripture noteth at our Saviour's Paſſion, obſerved alſo by the Aſtronomers in *Egypt*, reported to have ſaid theſe words, *Aut Deus Naturæ patitur, &c.* The Reverend Father *Dionyſius* may be ſeen in his Epiſtle to *Polycarpus* and to *Apollophanes*, but who, when he ſaith that this was done by the Interpoſition of the Moon, doth not a little betray his Tradition: for the

the Sun and Moon were then Diametrically oppoſed, and the Moon her ſelf totally Eclipſed in *Libra* to the Antipodes of *Jeruſalem*; therefore the Eclipſe was ſupernatural.

The fourth year of the 22 Olympiad anſwereth to the 19 of *Tiberius*, and the 33 of the Nativity, which was the 4745 of the *Julian* Period, and 3982 of the World, in the 78 *Julian* year, and the 780 of *Nabonaſſar*; and becauſe it was *Feria ſexta*, therefore it was the third day of *April*, there hapning the very ſame day a natural Eclipſe of the Moon in the 11 of *Libra*, which began at *Jeruſalem* at 5 of the clock and 49 minutes in the afternoon. Therefore this day was exceeding terrible, for the Sun was totally once, and the Moon once totally, and twice Eclipſed.

CHAP. XVIII.

Hegira Muchammedis.

Mahomet having introduc'd a new Superſtition, which the Men of *Mecha*, impatient (as all other, of alteration) reſented not, was forced to fly that place. This Flight of his, or Perſecution, as he had rather it ſhould be thought, in alluſion to that of *Diocletian*, and compliance with the Chriſtians *Æra Martyrum*, was called *Hegira Muchammedis*, that is, Διωγμὸς, or the Flight of the Perſecuted Prophet. It fell out upon *Friday* the 16 of *July*, and 622 of the Incarnation, beginning (as their years are Lunar) from the New Moon of that time, but which they account not as others from the Conjunction it ſelf, but from the Horning; which is the cauſe why they ſet up in their Steeples a Creſcent, as we a Croſs in ours. From this *Æra Fugæ Muchammedanæ* they reckon their years.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Æra Jesdagerdica.

THis *Æra* was fixed, saith *Albumazar*, *Anno Hegiræ* 11, *Rabie prioris* 22. *fer.* 3. which answereth to the 16 of *June*, *Anno Christi* 632, so called from *Jesdagerd* the last *Persian* King, in whom that Empire, saith *Haithon* the *Armenian*, was lost the same year of our Lord unto *Othman* the *Saracen*; to be reckoned not from the Inauguration, as *Alphraganus* and *Isaac* the Monk, and some others, but from the death of *Jesdagerd*.

The *Persians* begin their Year at the Vernal Æquinox, accurately observing the Suns entrance into the first Point of *Aries*, which day they call *Neuruz*, that is, *Novus dies*, from *Ruz*, which in their Tongue signifieth a day, and *Neu*, *novus*, new; entertaining this time with great solemnity, which they hold so sacred, that no Matrimony there is accounted legitimate, if not contracted in the Spring.

Now because the *Egyptian* year, to which that *Æra* did apply, still anticipated the Suns motion, and gave an unjust account of the Æquinox, the Sultan of *Corasan* or *Mesopotamia* appointed eight of the most learned Astrologers of that age (amongst whom *Abensina* or *Avicen* was one) to make an exact determination of the Tropical year, which was done as they could. This new form was fixed in the Æquinox observed by them, the Sun entring the first Point of *Aries*, *Thursday* the 18 of *Phrurdin*, at two of the clock in the afternoon, in the 448 year of *Jesdagerd*, and 471 of the *Hegira*, which was 1079 of the Incarnation according to *Dionysius*. The Cycle of the Sun was 24, the Moon 16.

This *Æra* from the Style of the Emperour was called *Gelalæa*, that is, *Æra Augusta* or *Imperatoria*, as that word signifieth in the *Persian* Dialect.

CHAP. XX.

What is Proleptical, and what Historical Time.

HIstorical Time is that which is deduced from the *Æra Orbis Conditi*. Proleptical is that which is fixed in the Chaos: The *Jews* call it *Tempus Tohu*, as the Chaos is called by their *Moses*, *Gen* 1. So the New Moon which they suppose to be upon the second of the six days, that is, if the Luminaries had then been, they call *Novilunium Tohu*, for that as yet there was neither Sun nor Moon.

The first Example of Proleptical Time was given by the *Greek* Church, who in their Computations follow the Holy Scripture of the *Septuagint*. Therefore their *Æra Orbis Conditi* is fixed in the 5500. year *Ante Christum Natum*. Their more artificial men, perceiving that this vast Epilogism was good for somewhat else besides the measuring of Times, applied it to the Characters, and they found that divided by 19 and 28, it gave the Circle of the Sun and Moon; but divided by 15, it gave not the true Indiction; therefore they added 8 to the sum, and so it became a Technical or Artificial Period, comprehending the three Characters: and because it supposed 8 years of the *Tohu*, it was Proleptical; but which the times following not considering, reckoned Historically, as if the *Æra Orbis* had then ben fixed; but are thus to be corrected.

This Account is used by the *Maronites*, *Grecians*, and generally by the Eastern Church: It is called *Æra Græcorum*, or more properly *Periodus Constantinopolitana*, from the Seat of the Empire, where it may seem to have been devised.

By this Example *Scaliger* made up his *Julian* Period, which it self also, as this, consisteth of Time partly Historical, and partly Proleptical.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Considering the Causes of that infinite Variety which is found to be amongst Chronologers.

FRederick *Husman*, in his Epistle to the Elector *Palatine*, reckoneth up forty several Opinions concerning the Connexion of those two famous *Æra's*, this of *Christi Nati*, and that other of *Orbis Conditi*. And I doubt not but this diversity might be redoubled, if any body would undertake that such frivolous pains.

The extremest variety is that of the Greek and Hebrew Scripture, making a difference of 2000 years; an occasion justly taken by some equally to disparage the authority either of the one or the other. For it cannot be but that this Epilogism must be detracted from the *Hebrew*, or superadded to the *Greek*, there being no mean way of reconciliation. But certainly, the *Hebrew* (though I hold it not so every ways incorrupt, as if not one jot or tittle of the same suffered the common fate of time, yet) I believe to be the Original, and by the incredible diligence of the *Masora*, subservient to the greater providence of God, to retain more of its own purity, than any other Scripture whatsoever; and therefore that it resteth in the *Greek* Translation, to account for this difference. Yet neither do I think that choice Assembly so neglected by God in a matter so importantly cared for by him, as to recede so foully from their Original.

I rather cast this corruption upon the dregs of Time, assuring my self that this imposture was put upon us by the *Hellenists*, those among them who affected that ancient Heresie of the *Chiliasts*; the conceit whereof I affirm to be the occasion of this corruption.

Other differences in that Connexion have these lesser Causes.

That Prophane History maketh no certain account of Time before the Olympiads.

That in the *Roman* affairs (a moſt important piece of Hiſtory) the Conſulſhips are not Regiſtred in the *Faſti* with that diſtinction and care as was neceſſary; experience whereof hath been made by the induſtrious examinations of *Onuphrius* and *Cuſpinian*.

That the Hiſtorians themſelves generally did not conſider ſo much the deſignation of Time, otherwiſe than with a reference to their own *Æra's*, which were but uncertainly fixt.

That many of them wrote not the Hiſtory of their own Times.

That ſome of them took liberty to relate thoſe things inclufively, which others relate excluſively.

That ſeveral Nations reckoned not by the ſame form of years. That all Nations not Chriſtian affected an opinion of greater Antiquity than their own beginning, endeavouring therefore to leave the Story of their riſing as uncertain to Poſterity, as poſſibly in them lay. So the *Egyptians* tell us of *Heroes* paſt, who by their reckoning reigned long before the World was made; which they ſay with as much credit, as the *Indians* tell us that they have out-liv'd four Suns already, and that this which we have is the fifth from their beginning: To ſay nothing of *Janbazar*, *Tſareth*, and *Roani*, men that lived before *Adam*'s time, as the Book *Heubattiſh* makes report, and that one *Sombaſher* was *Adam*'s Tutor.

But the greateſt cauſe of all is, for that profeſſed Chronologers of our own times, ſuch as *Funccius*, *Beroaldus*, *Bucholcer*, nay *Satian*, *Baronius*, *Torniellus*, and *Gordon* themſelves were altogether unacquainted with any Artificial way of this Work, not knowing how to make application of Natural and Civil Characters to the aſſuring of Times. One of the firſt who began to know what was to be done in this matter, was the moſt learned and perceiving *Mercator*, who inſtituted a Chronology by way of Demonſtration Aſtronomical. To this beginning, ſomething by *Crentzeim* wad added; but very much more by *Bunting*, the Author of a moſt elaborate Chronology, demonſtrating by the Characters

racters of Eclipſes the Sun and Moon's Circles, and with Calculation of every Eclipſe ſince the World began.

But this Art hath received greateſt perfection from that excellent Work of *Scaliger*, *De Emendat. Temporum*, upon whoſe grounds *Calviſius* hath erected a moſt incomparable Chronology for demonſtration of Time by Eclipſes, and Cycles of the Sun and Moon ſeverally applied to every year; yet wanting ſo much to accompliſhment as may ſeem to be added by the incredible pains of *Helvicus*, who excelleth *Calviſius* (though otherwiſe excelled by him) in Synchroniſms infinitely added, and the application of the *Julian* Period, which why *Sethus Calviſius* ſhould not meaſure, is very much to be marvelled. Theſe two therefore put together, make up Chronology every ways abſolute, and brought to ſuch a perfection as needs not to be added unto: for though I doubt not but that even thoſe alſo are ſometimes failing, as for ſome other neceſſary and unavoidable defects; ſo alſo for that they are not throughly adviſed whoſe Tables Aſtronomical they beſt and moſt ſecurely may follow; yet I aſſure my ſelf, the difference cauſed by this is but very ſmall and inſenſible, that it cannot be much amended, though never ſo much care ſhould be taken; and that by tampering it may be made much worſe, as by the learned, infinite, and equally unprofitable pain of *Petavius* is too well known. Therefore good it were that Chronology, brought to this degree of complement, might expect no extremer hand, but being ſtampt with the impreſſion of ſome Publick Authority, might go current in general Opinion, without farther clipping or defacing, upon whatſoever ſpecious and pretending Reformations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Canon Chronological.

THe designation of Time *secundum intervalla*, the Chronologers call *Canon*: which if it set the *Æra's* down singly, is termed *Canon κατ' ἐφάδιον*: if it make a Connexion of them, *κατ' ἀπαρτισμόν*.

An Example of the first is,

From the *Æra* of the *Julian* Period	*Anni*
Unto that of *Orbis Conditi*	764
Unto the *Universal Deluge*	2419
Unto the *Birth of Abraham*	2711
Unto the *Destruction of Troy*	3530

An Example of the second is,

The Creation fell out in the 764 of the *Julian* Period. The Flood came upon the Earth *Anno* 1656 of the Creation, and 2420 of the *Julian* Period. Our Saviour Christ was born *Anno Mundi* 3949, *Anno Period. Jul.* 4713, *Olympiad* 194, and 748 of *Nabonassar*.

This Connexion of things is called *Synchronism*, whether it be of the Intervals themselves, or together with the Story.

An Error committed herein is called *Anachronism*: and either saith too much, and that is a *Prochronism*; or too little, and that is a *Metachronism*.

FINIS.